Verbal Pseudocoordination in English:
A syntactic analysis with reference to diachronic, dialectal and cross-linguistic variation*

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Pseudocoordination is a term that encompasses any natural language phenomenon in which apparent coordination (the presence of and) does not correspond to strictly coordinative syntax or semantics. For verbal pseudocoordination in English, two representative examples are *try and do* and *go and get*. The goals of this paper are to: 1) report the descriptive data that must be accounted for in any analysis of verbal pseudocoordination in English; and 2) analyze the syntactic properties of the *try-and*-type of verbal pseudocoordination, which will be shown to share some properties with coordination and others with *to*-subordination. An Appendix will also provide an overview of verbal pseudocoordination in other languages and a typology of verbal pseudocoordination in English that explains the diachronic development of these structures.

1. Introduction

Pseudocoordination can be broadly defined as a description of any phenomenon involving what looks like a conjunction (*and*) to join two elements but not adhering to the expectations of standard coordination. This paper is concerned with verbal pseudocoordination in Modern English, with a focus on establishing the necessary components of an adequate syntatic analysis. In English, verbal pseudocoordination is exemplified by the phrases *go and get* and *try and do*, which will be argued to be two distinct subtypes of the broader phenomenon. The goals of the paper are as follows: first, to distinguish verbal pseudocoordination from standard

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coordination (§2); second, to distinguish the *go*-type and *try*-type from each other and discuss the details of the *go*-type (§3); and third, to describe the relevant grammatical properties of the *try*-type, which will be the primary object of study in this paper (§4). Bringing together the descriptive generalizations, a preliminary syntactic analysis will be introduced and its implications discussed (§5). Then the conclusion will summarize the findings (§6). Appendix 1 will provide an overview of cross-linguistic data and present a typology of pseudocoordination that relates the *go*-type and *try*-type to each other, represents their historical development, and provides a framework from which to consider cross-linguistic examples.

The data in this paper come from a variety of sources including a series of Internet surveys designed to elicit grammatical acceptability judgments and semantic interpretations for verbal pseudocoordination in English, a wide selection of corpora and primary source texts, and previous research especially for the cross-linguistic comparisons and theoretical arguments. Finally, where other data is unavailable, the intuitions are mine as native speaker of American English.

1.2 Previous research

Carden & Pesetsky (1977) is the starting point for the descriptive analysis of verbal pseudocoordination in English. For data from other languages and insights to theoretical approaches, the primary references include Wiklund (2007) for Swedish, Lødrup (2002) for Norwegian, and Heycock & Petersen (2012) for Faroese, among others. For the Appendix on diachronic change, the perspective on grammaticalization that I adopt is based on Bybee (2006).

In the early 20th century, verbal pseudocoordination went relatively unnoticed except when mentioned in passing in usage guides, usually as incorrect or informal (cf. Fowler: 1926:

666). A noteworthy exception is Poutsma (1917), who provides a thorough description of verbal pseudocoordination with a list of many verbs; at the same time, no analysis was given beyond calling it an "illogical substitution" for other forms. Later researchers working on various languages noted similar patterns in Europe (cf. Coseriu 1966), and this work lead to Wagner (1955) and Coseriu (1966) with summaries of cross-linguistic distributions of pseudocoordination but little mention of English and no syntactic account.

Ross (1967: 167-171) provided the first discussion of data in English pseudocoordination from a syntactic perspective, and several papers on the subject appeared in the following years including Zwicky (1969), Stahlke (1970) and Carden & Pesetsky (1977). Although all of these papers discussed the data with interest, formal analyses were inconclusive at best. Continued research (Lakoff 1986; Pullum 1990; Jaeggli & Hyams 1993; de Vos 2004, 2005, 2007) has addressed the problem in more detail, but no single explanation stands out as an accepted solution, and these analyses have tended to avoid *try and*, focusing either on the more frequent *go and get* or *go get* structures, which, although related, do not easily lead to a syntactic explanation for *try and*. Parallel research on pseudocoordination in the Scandinavian Germanic languages has been relatively successful in explaining the *go and get* type (cf. Lødrup 2002; Wiklund 2007), which can be extended to the analysis of English as well. The open question is how to analyze the *try*-type syntactically, as well as how it relates to the *go*-type.

1.3 Survey Research Methodology

The series of research surveys was conducted during 2012 using a wide-scale custom-made Internet-based survey system. These surveys were only designed to gather data for English. The first and primary survey gathered general responses mostly about *try*-type

pseudocoordination, and it was intended to establish empirical evidence for the claims to be made about a relatively infrequent aspect of English grammar. The survey focused on establishing the boundaries of acceptability for *try and* sentences (especially those involving inflected verb forms) but also contained items related to other similar verbs and other relevant patterns in English. A wide variety of English speakers were included as participants, ranging across dialects and generations, and L2 English speakers were also included (in total, N=140). The largest subgroup of participants were young (18-30 year-old), college-educated native speakers of American English (N=55). The survey contained 90 target sentences (15 of which were filler/distractor items), and each included two questions for each item. First, the participant was asked to judge the acceptability of the sentence on a 0-5 scale with labeled values (5. *completely normal*; 4. *acceptable*; 3. *somewhat okay*; 2. *strange*; 1. *unacceptable*; 0. *incomprehensible*). Participants were told to judge the sentences based on spoken English and not focus on prescriptive correctness. Second, each sentence had a binary (*yes*/*no*) semantic interpretation question designed to distinguish between the often ambiguous pseudocoordination and standard coordination readings available for the same sentences.

The shorter secondary surveys followed the same format as the first but were designed to elicit additional data in specific domains. The second survey added data from the form *be sure and*, and did not contain any semantic interpretation questions (N=27). The third was another follow-up with Standard English, this time looking at suppletive in verbal morphology (such as *set out* and *come*) and its interaction with pseudocoordination morphological restrictions. Future research will extend these surveys to consider dialectal variation.

2. Pseudocoordination as a distinct phenomenon

On the surface, pseudocoordination looks like coordination; in fact, that is all that the term means. It does not mean that the form is coordination (nor necessarily that it is not), or even that it is a single phenomenon, which can be explained under a single analysis.[1] It is merely a description that allows us to talk about forms that look like coordination but do not behave like coordination and have interesting grammatical properties for us to study (cf. also Lødrup 2002). The term *pseudocoordination* itself is most frequently applied to the Scandinavian Germanic languages (Swedish, Norwegian, and Danish, as well as Faroese). For a list of other terms see Wiklund (2007: 9). As there is no standard term for this phenomenon in English, I have adopted pseudocoordination. This also has the desired effect of suggesting that not only does it *look* like coordination, but it also *seems* like coordination in some sense (due to, if nothing else, the presence of *and*), thus leading to the obvious question of whether pseudocoordination is in fact coordination. Explaining pseudocoordination necessarily entails explaining its relationship with standard coordination, among other things. In this section, we will focus on the grammatical properties that distinguish verbal pseudocoordination from standard coordination.

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1 This paper is concerned only with verbal pseudocoordination. There are other cases with other parts of speech, such as adjectival hendiadys as in the phrase *nice and warm* (see Hopper 2002), or the coordinate conditional *You drink one more can of beer and I'm leaving* discussed in Culicover & Jackendoff (1997). Although there is not space to discuss these types here, it is interesting to note that *and* appears to be frequently used for other purposes than simple/logical coordination, perhaps hinting at a universal functional tendency (as with future tense developing out of *to go*) for developing pseudocoordinative expressions out of coordination in general. Arabic can apparently have a meaning of *and* as *while*, as in (i) below, while in Ancient Greek, hendiadys, especially of substantives, was common, as in (ii):

(i) ha-takol we ʔenta waʔef.
will-you-eat and you standing
'Are you going to eat while standing?'

(ii) aspidon te kai straton (Smyth 1920: 678)
shield and army
'armed force'

In Swahili there is no distinction between *and* and *with*, while in German *and* has a use in a "presentative mode" to express the basic idea of a predicate in (iv) :

(iii) Juma na rafiki yake
Juma and/with friend his
'Juma and/with his friend'

(iv) Ich und morgen heimfahren! (Zaefferer 1990: 223)
I and tomorrow home-go
'As if I would go home tomorrow!'

In short, it is certainly the case that many uses of *and* are far from standard coordination, and perhaps possible that standard coordination is an idealization not characteristic of natural languages. For a detailed account of the development and variation of *and* cross-linguistically, see Mithun (1988).

As will be discussed later (§3), English has at least two distinct subtypes of pseudocoordination, the *try*-type and the *go*-type. For the moment, we will focus on the properties that they share in common with each other but are not characteristic of standard coordination. Moreover, although the *try*-type is more restrictive than the *go*-type, they both appear to be distinct from standard coordination in the same ways. As we now begin to consider examples of pseudocoordination, it is important to keep in mind that these sentences often have two ambiguous readings, one with the special pseudocoordination reading and the other of logical additive semantics from standard coordination. For the grammaticality judgments that follow and the relevant generalizations, only the former pseudocoordination reading will be considered. Later in the paper it will become clear that this is a case of standard syntactic ambiguity, with two underlying syntactic structures generating the same linear surface form.

The first distinguishing property that we will consider is the restriction to only verbal pseudo-conjuncts as in (1)-(2) below:

1) I try and do it. ≠ I try and I do it.
2) I go and get it. ≠ I go and I get it.

While there is no restriction in standard coordination that the conjuncts must be verbs or VPs, the pseudocoordination reading is unavailable when the pseudocoordinated structure is interrupted by a subject. Additionally, pseudocoordination is strictly binary, with only two conjuncts, as shown in (3)-(4):[2]

3) *I try, go and get it.
4) *John took the book, up and stole it from the library.

2 Here, we must set aside layered conjunction such as *try and go and get*, or serialization and conjunction as in *go try and get*, and consider only cases of truly one level, indicated by the comma punctuation on all but the final conjunct, as in the list *A, B, C and D*, but not *A and B and C*. That is, pseudocoordination has no restriction against being embedded in a higher level of pseudocoordination, but only that each level itself must contain exactly two conjuncts.

The non-binary sequence in (3) only has the alternative sequence of events reading, unrelated to pseudocoordination. The ungrammatical sentence in (4) does not have an alternative single-sequence reading that is grammatical, because the special verb *up* can be optionally uninflected for past tense, but only in pseudocoordination. The order of pseudocoordination is also fixed:

5) I try and do it. ≠ I do and try it.[3]
6) I go and get it. ≠ I get and go it.

In summary, pseudocoordination structures are limited to verbal pseudo-conjuncts, must be binary and have fixed word-orders.

These properties do not hold for standard conjunction. Chomsky defined conjunction as the process that combines two like elements (constituents of the same kind) to form a new sentence (1957: 35-36), and though this must be expanded to allow non-binary coordination, it generally matches our intuition about what conjunction does. Although many details may have changed since that original analysis, such as the possibility for a binary branching, hierarchical structure within coordination,[4] coordination in general does not appear to have any specific restrictions beyond what Chomsky mentioned, that the two coordinated elements must be of the same type. The order of constituents is flexible (disregarding conventional discourse structure), three or more elements may be combined, and there is no restriction to a particular type of conjunct.

As a starting point, we can consider the extent to which the third property is not restricted. Even in English, there are certain elements that cannot be conjoined, such as determiners: *S*ome and many books.* Conjunctions in other languages may be far more restricted

3 To rule out interference from pragmatics, we can apply the test of "*but not necessarily in that order*," which still does not make available the pseudocoordination reading, though it can allow for a reversed *and then* reading of *and*, such as in the sentence: *John went to Mexico and robbed a bank, but not necessarily in that order.*

4 Coordination is often considered now to be binary branching rather than a ternary, parallel structure. There is an outer conjunct as specifier, an inner conjunct as complement, and a conjunction as head (see Zhang 2010, 242, or Johannessen 1998, 271).

than English, and there may be multiple conjunctions for different constituent types, such as in Japanese. Therefore, if we consider and_{PC} (found in pseudocoordination) to be distinct from and_{SC} (found in standard coordination), then we can say that and_{PC} only joins verbal elements. This is likely a necessarily component of the analysis of pseudocoordination, but even so it does not explain the other differences. In this way, pseudocoordination and coordination have already been distinguished at a basic level.[5]

There are another set of conditions that distinguish pseudocoordination. A central property is the requirement of morphological sameness for both verbs, as shown in (7)-(8):

7) *I tried and do it.
8) *I went and have a book.

These examples focus on tense, but the generalization applies for other verbal morphology as well such as third-person singular *-s* agreement in the present tense. This restriction does not, however, apply for periphrastic properties, such as passive or perfect constructions, which may be unbalanced:

9) I will try and have done it by 5pm.
10) I will try and be selected for the jury.

The perfect and passive use in (9) and (10) are available if marginal for some speakers. One possible complication of this point is that constructing ungrammatical examples with unbalanced

5 Some authors may disagree with this claim. For example, Culicover and Jackendoff (1997) show that the coordinate conditional construction, (i) below, is binary and has a fixed order, but claim that it is still coordination because it shares certain properties with coordination. This is, however, more an issue of nomenclature than any theoretical claim. The current use of pseudocoordination does not necessarily suggest anything more than that this is some identifiable form in the language, and perhaps it is still a subtype of coordination. In fact, the analysis to be proposed here is a flexible one, incorporating properties from coordination and subordination without accepting it as either one or the other (§5). It must be pointed out, however, that the coordinate conditional construction may not be necessarily binary. Marginal sentences like (ii) below seem possible, while there is nothing comparable for pseudocoordination. In terms of degree of coordination-like-ness, the coordinate conditional case seems similar to my Type 3 pseudocoordination (§5).
(i) You drink one more can of beer and I'm leaving. (Culicover & Jackendoff 1997: 195)
(ii) You hit me one more time, I'm leaving and you'll never see me again!

verbal morphology can give the impression that this is due to a semantic or pragmatic restriction. However, grammatical examples of standard coordination of this type can be constructed:

11) John snores and kept his wife awake last night.

Comparable examples with pseudocoordination are simply unavailable:

12) *John goes and kept his wife awake last night.

13) John went and kept his wife awake last night.

While (12) is ungrammatical and nearly nonsensical, the grammaticality of (11) and (13) suggests that this is a syntactic or morphological, rather than semantic or pragmatic, restriction. Additionally, the morphological sameness requirement is ubiquitous in the literature on verbal pseudocoordination (cf. Carden & Pesetsky 1977, Wiklund 2007, Lødrup 2002, among many others). It also facilitates the theoretical argument that explains other restrictions on morphological form such as the *bare form condition* (Carden & Pesetsky 1977) or feature/inflection copying/agreement adopted here (and argued for in Wiklund 2007 and Lødrup 2002).

This morphological sameness requirement is at the core of pseudocoordination. Although not all types of pseudocoordination are equivalent, they do share at least this property, and in fact it is in itself enough to determine membership in the set of phenomena that can be considered pseudocoordination. Thus, to the extent that *pseudocoordination* can be used as a technical term and as it is used here, the morphological sameness requirement is the distinguishing factor, along with the presence of *and*. This will be discussed in detail later (§5).

Other properties include atypical semantics for coordination, violations of the Coordinate Structure Constraint, and the fact that pseudocoordination occurs exclusively with *and* and never other conjunctions. This last property is intriguing conceptually. Not only are there no attested

examples of non-*and* verbal pseudocoordination to my knowledge, but it is almost impossible to even imagine what that would look like.[6] This serves to at least restrict pseudocoordination to only a subset of coordination, if it were to be considered part of the same phenomenon. The other two points are often central in discussions of pseudocoordination.

Culicover and Jackendoff's (1997) phrasing of "semantic subordination despite syntactic coordination," though applied to a slightly different phenomenon, seems to capture the essence of the deviant semantics of pseudocoordination. The two pseudo-cojuncts are typically not balanced semantically and are rarely purely additive in nature. Often an infinitival paraphrase is available:

14) I try and do it. = I try <u>to do</u> it.
15) I go and get it. ≈ I go <u>to get</u> it

The distinction between the semantics of the *try*-type and *go*-type will be discussed in detail below (§3), but for now it should be enough to suggest that one verb may be semantically subordinate to the other, and the meaning is not merely the logical combination of two predicates that makes pseudocoordination sentences true; in some cases it may be more and in other cases it may be less. There is some relationship between the verbs not accounted for with truth-conditional coordination.[7] The truth value for the sentence does not directly correlate with the independent truth values of each pseudoconjunct.

6 One could imagine a sort of negation reading for pseudocoordination with *but* or *or* as the inverse of *and* pseudocoordination. Perhaps *try but go* or *try or go* would mean *do anything to avoid going*. Yet that possibility is generally implausible, at least from the standpoint of grammaticalization with such collocations not occurring frequently enough to ever grammaticalize. More generally, the cross-linguistic tendency for *and* to have varied non-coordination uses only applies to *and* itself, or at least more rarely for other conjunctions.

7 Truth-conditional coordination refers to the traditional idea from logic in which the conjunction *and*, often represented as *&*, functions to take two predicates and assign a truth value of true to the sentence if and only if both conjuncts are independently true, with no additional relationship considered between the predicates (cf., for example, Kearns 2000: 26).

There is also a tendency for pseudocoordination to involve some sort of agentive intentionality.[8] This is thus one example of a connection between the two predicates that would not be available under a standard coordination reading unless only a pragmatic implicature. Semantically/pragmatically, both types seem to include some sort of agentive intentionality.

The violations of the Coordinate Structure Constraint (Ross 1967) demonstrate a clear deviation from typical coordination:

16) What did you try and do?
17) What did you go and get?
18) *Which song/what did you sing and dance?

These examples show that unbalanced extraction out of one pseudoconjunct is allowed for pseudocoordination (13-14) but not for standard coordination (15). Although the strong version of the CSC has been rejected for some time (cf. Lakoff 1986), there is no denying that it applies to atypical coordination, at least if standard coordination as in (15) is taken to be the norm and that in certain cases such as (15) the CSC, or something like it, does apply.

In summary, this section has established that although pseudocoordination does share certain properties with coordination it cannot be considered typical standard coordination. Issues of nomenclature aside, certain divergent properties make it a worthy object of study, most centrally the morphological sameness requirement. Although there may be overlap, this paper will focus on these differences rather than similarities in assigning specific cases to the labels of *coordination* and *pseudocoordination* with the theoretical import placed on the properties that differ themselves rather than whether some particular sentence is or is not coordination.

8 There are clear exceptions as in *He went and died on me*, and this may be more true of English than other languages, but it does seem to hold as a frequent property, even in other languages.

3. Two types of pseudocoordination

This section will establish two primary types of pseudocoordination in English, the *go*-type and the *try*-type, with the former less restricted in distribution than the latter and thus more like standard coordination, while the latter is more like infinitival *to* subordination. A first distinction can be made based on the sets of verbs that participate in each type. Instances *go*-type typically involve motion verbs, but this type is generally flexible and allows a variety of verbs, especially cross-linguistically. The class of verbs in the *try*-type is less certain, and will be discussed in the next section (§4), but generally involves control verbs, which take infinitival complements.

A convenient diagnostic and general property of the *try*-type is that often the second verb's truth conditions can be 'cancelled' as in (19):

19) I will try and finish the report on time, but I might not succeed.

20) *I will go and get the book, even if it is sold out.

As shown in (20), however, this cancelling of the second verb is not possible in the *go*-type. Thus this property is an initial way to separate the two subtypes of verbal pseudocoordination. Care must be taken, however, because certain verbs entail success in their lexical semantics. An example is *be sure*, and another may be *manage*, which can be used marginally in this way. Therefore, a sentence like (21) gives a misleading result under this diagnostic test:

21) *I will be sure and take out the trash, but I might not do it.

In order to determine the classification of *be sure*, we must turn to other evidence.

Beyond the semantics, the defining property of the *try*-type is the *bare form condition* as established in Carden & Pesetsky (1997). There is a strict ban on inflection on both verbs involved in *try*-type pseudocoordination:

22) *He tries and does it.
23) *We tried and did it.
24) He goes and gets it.
25) He went and got it.

The *try*-type may not appear with third-person *-s* (22), or in the past tense (23). This restriction does not apply for the *go*-type (24-25). This can then allow us to test other verbs to determine the type they belong to. For example, *be sure and* must appear in the bare form (26-27). This will be discussed in detail in the next section (§3).

26) I will be sure and take out the trash.
27) *I am sure and take out the trash.

The rest of this section will be concerned with discussing the details of the *go*-type. As discussed above (§2), several shared properties of the *go*-type and *try*-type distinguish them from standard coordination. From the examples just presented, clearly the *try*-type is less similar to coordination and more restricted, but there are still properties that demonstrate that the *go*-type is separate from standard coordination. Like the *try*-type, the *go*-type does have specific semantic properties, but they are hard to categorize precisely. One is the fact that many verbs in the *go*-type seem to require a goal/destination complement (34):

28) I will go *(to get some food / to the store).
29) I will go *(and get some food).

We can see in (28) that *go* cannot stand alone in a sentence under a non-ellipsis reading. However, it can participate in pseudocoordination (29) without a standard complement. Instead, it seems that the pseudocoordination itself somehow supplies this complement for *go*. In this sense, the *go*-type appears to be similar to the *try*-type and alternate with a *to* infinitive. However, that is not accurate when the second verb is not completed:

30) The man will go to/*and buy the book, even if it is sold out.

The ungrammaticality of pseudocoordination in (31) shows that the *go*-type is not infinitival *to* subordination, and in fact it appears similar to standard coordination in that respect. In fact, it is almost as if the subordination is inverted:

32) I want to run and catch the bus, although I don't want to run.

The reading available in (28) suggests that the main verb in the sentence is the second verb. This leaves us with the following paraphrases for the two types of verbal pseudocoordination:

33) I try and be on time to class. ≈ I try to be on time to class.
34) I go and get the book. ≈ I get the book by going.

The paraphrase of *go* in (34) as a sort of manner adverbial is intuitively a good fit for the meaning of *go*-type pseudocoordination. This also fits with the similar *go get* structure, which several authors have discussed in relation to *go and get* (cf. Carden & Pesetsky 1977, Wulff 2006, Bjorkman 2010). Functionally, this may be no accident, and pseudocoordination may be one way to develop expressions similar to pseudocoordination. In English, the serialized version is restricted to *go* and *come* (and for some speakers *run* according to Carden & Pesetsky 1977: 82), while the *go*-type of pseudocoordination is open to many other verbs. Additionally, the *go get* structure is limited by apparently the same bare form condition (Carden & Pesetsky 1977) as the *try*-type of pseudocoordination. Semantically they are similar, but in other respects they are distinct. Cross-linguistically there are many languages with *go*-serialization, such as Korean and Japanese, even if they do not have pseudocoordination (see Appendix 1, Section 1.6). Also see Comrie (1976: 106) for motion verbs grammaticalizing as aspectual markers.

The relevance of serialization and *go*-type pseudocoordination here may be that they share the same function: to express one verb qualified by another, as evidence in the manner adverbial paraphrase in (34) above. Often the first verb in *go*-type pseudocoordination is semantically de-emphasized (32) or even bleached of meaning:

35) He went and died on me.

In (35), there is no motion involved at all. This may be idiomatic of *go* (especially in the past tense as *went*), but it seems to be a tendency of the overall class. Even when there is no clear semantic effect, the emphasis is still on the second verb:

36) I hope you come and visit us.

The result is that the contribution of *go*-type pseudocoordination, with the second verb as the important verb in the sentence, is similar to aspect. It is less clear, however, exactly how that aspect would be classified for all verbs. For *go*, it may be some sort of inchoative aspect, but then it is unclear how to distinguish, for example, *come* and *go* or *run*. Furthermore, there can be certain *go*-type cases in which the first verb has significant semantic content:

37) He took the book and gave it to me.

Based on a time-focused definition of aspect as in Comrie (1976), or even Jespersen's (1924: 286-289) somewhat broader list of properties that are sometimes referred to as aspect, the first verb of *go*-type pseudocoordination does not seem to be properly classified as aspect. However, the similarity is striking and thus the temptation strong to make note of the apparently similarity.

Direct evidence for a relationship with aspect can be found in the Scandinavian languages. For example, Lødrup (2002: 121) includes several examples of semantically bleached pseudocoordination verbs that have grammaticalized to encode aspect in Norwegian:

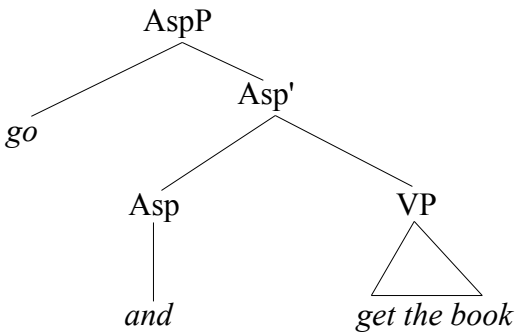
38) Han sitter og skriver dikt.
He sits and writes poems
'He is writing poetry.'

39) Han tok og skrev et dikt.
He took and wrote a poem
'He wrote a poem.'

The first with *sit* encodes a sort of progressive aspect, while the second with *take* encodes a sort of perfective aspect, and the verbs no longer contribute their original semantics. As in the English *go*-type sentences, the second verb is the most prominent in the meaning.

This hints at the intriguing possibility of pseudocoordination as some kind of aspectual phrase, joined to the rest of the sentence by the pseudo-conjunction as in (36) below:

(40)



The sketch of a possible syntactic structure for pseudocoordination as aspect above show one option among several for how aspectual meaning could be encoded with pseudocoordination. The head would be *and*, perhaps assigning underspecified aspect to its complement, any VP, and the specifier of the phrase would be the first verb (or VP) that would contribute the specific aspect as well as potentially other meaning such as directionality in *go* and *come*, speed in *run*, or a semantic entailment in *take the book*. In many ways, this resembles the proposed "Topic Auxliary" analysis of pseudocoordination in Spanish by Arnaiz and Camacho (1999), in that it relies on a hybrid structure involving defective coordination and a functional projection to generate the whole sentence. To work this out in detail, the AspP analysis would probably not be uniform for all cases of (even just *go*-type) pseudocoordination, and this would need to be one option among many for the underlying structure for this

phenomenon characterized by its surface-level appearance.

One possibility for allowing this structure to function in the analysis would be to utilize something like that which is described by Pesetsky (1995: 316-318). The proposal is that coordination, at least certain kinds of coordination, acts to join two separate structures at two points in a tree. The rest of the syntactic structure stays in place, and only the conjoined element changes. In some sense, and allows the stacking of similar structures occupying (sharing) a single location in the sentence. This would only work as an explanation in the cases where both conjuncts have the same semantic relationship with the sentence as a whole, unless semantic structure is disconnected from syntactic structure. For the moment I will set this intriguing possibility aside to return to the theme of the paper, the *try*-type.

In summary, there are at least two distinct subtypes of verbal pseudocoordination in English: the *try*-type to be discussed below, and the *go*-type, discussed briefly in this section. It is important to note that although there is likely a prototypical *go*-type that appears freuqently and with many verbs, there is no particular reason to believe that there are not more subtypes or that the *go*-type is necessary one individual phenomenon rather than several similar phenomena that share certain properties. The reason for discussing it in this way is to set up for the discussion of the *try*-type below, for which the *go*-type will be a diachronic pre-requisite, which is to say that the *try*-type developed out of the *go*-type at some point in the past (§5).

Additionally, this type, broadly speaking, seems to be the most common type of pseudocoordination cross-linguistically, especially with motion verbs, and may be the best candidate for pseudocoordination proper, as Wiklund (2007) describes only this type of structure in Swedish as *pseudocoordination*, giving other related phenomena other classifications, such as a structure in Swedish similar to English *try*-type pseudocoordination. There is also no reason to

believe that there are not more types cross-linguistically, but because this paper focuses on English only those found in English will be discussed. The typology later in the paper represents a one-dimensional grammaticalization pattern that applies to English and a starting point for comparing English verbal pseudocoordination to cross-linguistic verbal pseudcoordination. Thus, there may be many more dimensions of grammaticalization possible that will not be covered here. Just as one clear example, the Topic Auxiliary analysis of a pseudocoordination structure in Spanish in Arnaiz and Camacho (1998) does not fit within the English types. However, the *go*-type is presented here as being common cross-linguistically and likely a shared type that will allow us to bridge the varied systems across different languages, even if beyond the *go*-type they languages diverge. Thus, with the Spanish example, it is hypothesized here that such a form originated as a *go*-type and later grammaticalized further to become the Topic Auxiliary that it is now. This is supported by the fact that one of the verbs used in this way in Spanish is in fact *go*.

4. Grammatical properties of the *try*-type

The *try*-type appears to only occur with *subject-only control* verbs,[9] which can alternatively take infinitival *to* complements (see also discussion in Wiklund 2007). This class of verbs can be defined as those control verbs (as opposed to raising verbs[10]) that only allow subject control, but not optional object control. In addition to the frequent *try*-type verbs *try* and *be sure*, other verbs which were judged to be acceptable under the pseudocoordination reading by at least some of the participants are: *agree*, *pretend*, *offer*, *apply*, *remember*, *promise*, and even *yearn*. Examples, based on the sentences presented in the survey and judged to be acceptable under the

9 In fact, *subject control verbs* would be an appropriate name for the class, except that title is already applied to verbs like *promise* (as in *I promise you to help you*), that can include an object as well as verbal complement. Although *promise* is within the class of subject-only control verbs defined here, the class is much broader including verbs like *try* and *decide*, which cannot take objects: **I try you to help you.*

10 For a clear discussion of this distinction that fits well with the current analysis, see Sag & Wasow (1999: Ch. 12).

relevant pseudocoordination reading by a significant percentage of participants, are presented in (41-47) below:

41) If you agree and take me on a nice vacation next year, I will be happy.[11]
The being happy begins at the agreement, not the departure.
42) Sam likes to pretend and do his homework.
In fact, he doesn't like doing homework.
43) Amanda's guests always offer and wash the dishes.
But she tells them not to bother.
44) You have the right to apply and receive government funding.
But not everyone is accepted.
45) If you don't remember and pick up the kids, I'll get a divorce!
The divorce would follow not remembering, picking up the kids or not.
46) If you promise and buy me a car for my birthday...
I'll bike until then without complaining.
47) Cold nights make me yearn and sit by the fire with my family.
But I live too far away to fly home often.

These examples establish the important fact that the *try*-type is not restricted to an idiomatic usage with *try*. In contrast to the examples above, raising verbs (48) and control verbs that allow object control (49) are not possible in *try*-type pseudocoordination:

48) *I always tend and other steak at restaurants.[12]
But sometimes I do get lobster.
49) *I will want and move to Australia.
But my husband thinks that is a bad idea.

Data from corpora (COCA, COHA and BNC) supplement the survey responses with examples of these verbs and others, and no examples of the types not predicted by the classification.[13]

11 For (41-47) the survey responses are included here for reference. *Agree*: acceptability: 4.0 (acceptable), interpretation: 64% chose pseudocoordination reading; *pretend*: 2.8 (somewhat ok), 82%; *offer*: 2.7 (somewhat ok), 76%; *apply*: 3.8 (acceptable), 91%; *remember*: 2.2 (strange), 65%; *promise*: 3.3 (somewhat ok), 88%; *yearn*: 2.6 (somewhat ok), 85%. In short, there was a lot of variation but clearly the *try*-type reading was available for some English speakers beyond the typical cases of *try* and *be sure*.
An example sentence and question pair are as follows:
•Sentence (for acceptability rating): *Sam likes to pretend and do his homework.*
•Question (for semantic interpretation): *Does Sam like doing homework?*
An answer of *no* meant that *pretend and do* does not require completion of the second verb.

12 For comparison, the survey responses for (48-49) are as follows: *tend*: 1.9 (strange), 77%; *want*: 1.9 (strange), 73%. Although the acceptability ratings were low, the lexical semantics of the verbs forced a reading in which the sentences were generally interpreted similarly to pseudocoordination (or *to* infinitival uses of *want* and *tend*.) This is not unexpected, but the low acceptability shows that these forms are not grammatical.

13 Examples may be found for certain raising verbs, such as *begin* and *proceed*, within the *go*-type, but not within the *try*-type. The difference can be shown by the fact that the semantics of the second verb are not optional.

Additional verbs found to be used this way include *dare*, *choose*, *hope*, *expect*, *struggle* and *fail*. The corpus data can also confirm that certain marginal verbs in the survey are in fact used, such as *remember*, which was found several times in the survey data. There is also evidence that certain uses were more common in the past, between 100 and 200 years ago, with the data from the *COHA* (*Corpus of Historical American English*). For example, many examples of *dare* are found in earlier texts, and *choose* is only found (rarely) in the historical corpus.

This does not necessarily mean that all subject-only control verbs can necessarily participate in *try*-type pseudocoordination, but it does mean that any verb that does participate in it must be of that class, at least as far as I have been able to determine from corpora and survey responses.[14] Examples of verbs that do not appear to participate in *try*-type pseudocoordination but otherwise have the semantics and structural properties include *mean* and *intend*.[15] In conclusion, there is clearly a *try*-type of pseudocoordination more general than the verb *try* that is available and productive even if infrequent with other verbs.

The bare form condition, mentioned earlier, may be the most striking property of the *try*-type, and also makes it difficult to analyze. Although the *try*-type is allowed in the present tense (uninflected, with non-third-person -*s* subjects), the verb *be* allows us to test whether this applies to all present-tense forms or only those that are suppletive with the bare infinitive.

50) I try and <u>be</u> happy.
51) *I try and <u>am</u> happy.
52) I will <u>be</u> sure and do it.
53) *I <u>am</u> sure and do it.

14 It is possible to imagine extending this to other similar verb classes, but these are not found in corpora and generally seem unnatural in English.

15 It is unclear why, although it may be a frequency effect for certain verbs, but that does not explain why extremely infrequent verbs like *yearn* are acceptable.

In fact, both verbs must look like the bare infinitive (50-53). This explains why *be sure and* can never appear in the present tense but *try and* can.[16] Additionally, (50) shows that *try*-type pseudocoordination actually licenses the bare form of the second verb in the present tense.

54) *I be happy.

Thus (50) appears to be an exceptional use of *be* in the present.[17] This is another indication that there is more going on in the *try*-type than in standard coordination, or the *go*-type, in which the only possible reading of *be* is a strong 'agentive' *be*:

55) ??I go and be nice/*on time.
56) ??I sing and be nice/*awake.

The *try*-type is not restricted to agentive *be* as shown in (57-58) below, and (50) below does not appear unnatural as do (55-56).

57) I try and be awake early / on time.
58) I try and be selected for the jury / elected as president.

Following Collins's (to appear) description of agentive *be*, we can also extend the use of *try and be* to a context where agentive *be* is clearly unavailable:

59) *If you don't be seen, you will escape. (Collins, to appear: 1)

60) Try and not be seen, (so you can escape).

The contrast between (59) and (60) is clear, and this establishes that the appearance of *be* under *try and* must be due to a grammatical property of the *try*-type and not semantics or another more general explanation.

16 It would be interesting to determine whether dialects that do allow *be* in the present tense, such as AAVE, would also allow *be sure and*. Following the arguments in this paper, they should.

17 This is also similar to the *go get* structure, which would allow *go be* in the present tense, and Carden & Pesetsky did make the bare form condition as a generalization about both types.

Related to the bare form condition is the fact that *try*-type pseudocoordination is most acceptable and most common true bare contexts, including imperatives and infinitives (and potentially subjunctives):

61) Try and come to my party! (imperative)
62) It's important to try and be on time. (infinitive)
63) I will try and finish the homework. (infinitive under modal)
64) I suggest that he try and improve his grades. (subjunctive)[18]

Hommerberg & Tottie (2007) report the statistics on instances of *try and* and *try to* in written and spoken corpora of American and Brittish English, showing that *try and* is less common in American English than British English and in both varieties less common in writing. Only in spoken British English is *try and* more common than *try to*. Across all varieties, the percentage of instances of *try and* out of the total instances of *try and* or *try to* is always highest in the infinitive and imperative compared to the present tense.[19] In spoken British English, *try and* was used about 80% of the time for both the imperative and infinitive, but just under 50% for the present tense. In the other varieties, *try to* was always most common but *try and* was relatively more common in the infinitive and imperative. Additionally, by far the most common usage of either form was in the infinitive, accouting for over 60% of the total instances.

Lind (1983), looking at a corpus of British novels, found similar results, showing that although the total number of instances of *try and* and *try to* were roughly equal, the distributions across certain syntactic contexts were not. The percentage of use of *try and* was highest for

18 Although there is nothing wrong with this use in the subjunctive, the subjunctive is both rare and formal, which suggests that it would not often be found with this colloquial use of *try and*, and that (60) may sound unusual.

19 They had four categories: infinitive, imperative, present tense and past tense. However, due to the inflectional restrictions in this form, the "past tense" category consisted only of rare uses in combination with *do*, which could be categorized as a type of infinitive. Interestingly, the percentage of *try and* was lower than with other infinitives (0%-36%), but in total this type only accounted for less than 2% of the total number of tokens. Therefore, the relevant comparison here is between the infinitive, imperative and present tense usage. It is worth noting, however, that in the infrequent past tense case, the also infrequent *try and* form is even less frequent, which may be an interaction of frequency effects. Similarly, their coding included *do*-support present tense instances (such as questions) within "present tense." However, those contributed only 9% overall and the distribution of *do*-support versus non-*do*-support present regarding *and*/*to* was not obviously disproportionate.

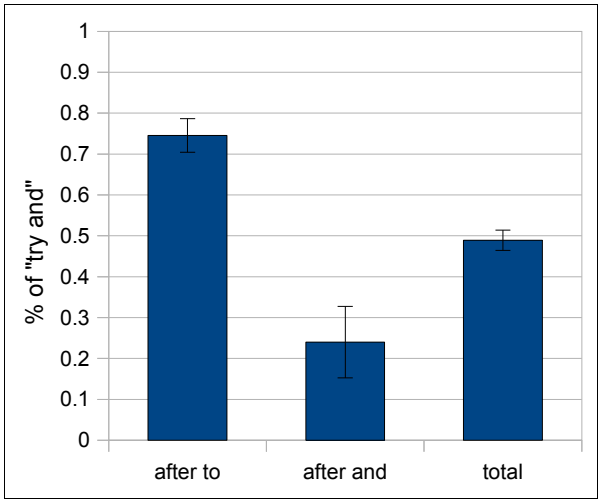
imperatives and infinitives, then after modals, then for finite present, and after that for less frequent contexts such as under *do*-support.

Both corpus studies also showed an effect of *horror aequi*, which describes the avoidence of using *try and* after *and*, or *try to* after *to*. The effects were strong for this in both studies, with a significant statistical difference in all four groups (p<.01~.001) in Hommerberg & Tottie's study. Lind found similar results, as presented in the graph below. See (65-66) below for examples:

65) I want to buy a book and try *to*>*and* read it.
66) I will buy a book to try *and*>*to* read it.

The sentences above show the contexts in which the tendency is to avoid repeated *to* or *and* within pseudoconjunction immediatley following *to* or *and*. In (65) the tendency would be to avoid *and*, and in (66) the tendency would be to avoid *to*.

The graph to the right represents the percentage of use of *try and* in Lind's data. There is a clear effect of avoiding a sequence of *to-to* or *and-and*, as shown by the significantly higher use of *and* after *to*, and significantly lower use of *and* after *and*, while the total number of instances are roughly equivalent.



The fact that horror aequi is active in frequency distributions in corpora suggests an awareness of form as well as a functional equivalence between the two forms. Neither Lind nor Hommerberg & Tottie found any clear semantic distinctions, but rather differences based on syntactic context. This is another reason to separate *try*-type pseudocoordination from coordination and consider it to be something more like infinitival *to* subordination.

The results from my survey showed no statistical difference between the horror aequi and non-horror aequi contexts (although there was a slight difference, +0.1 in acceptability for non-horror aequi contexts, it was far from statistically significant, at approximately p=0.5), suggesting that although there may be a tendency to avoid repetition that does not in itself make the forms less acceptable or grammatical. In fact Maia (2012) performed a similar analysis on a larger body of text than the studies reported earlier and did not find an effect of horror aequi.

However, data from my survey does appear to support the frequency of infinitive contexts over finite present tense, right at the edge of statistical significance (p=.056), for the sentences below:

67) I try and exercise 15 minutes every day. (finite present)
68) I will try and save more money this year. (infinitive following modal)

The participants tended to rate (68) slightly higher. This may be due to a frequency effect, but it may also be due to the fact that (68) contains a true (syntactically) bare form, while (67) contains a suppletively/homophonously bare form.

Following the discussion of horror aequi, it is appropriate to mention two other phonologically-oriented properties of verbal pseudocoordination (which apply to both the *go*-type and *try*-type, although perhaps most strongly to the *try*-type). The first is that there the word *and* is almost always reduced to a syllabic nasal, or even a nasalized schwa. Producing a fully articulated [ænd] is anomalous and suggests the other of the ambiguous interpretations, available through standard coordination. Likewise, this could partly explain, in addition to effects of prescritivism and formality, why written usage is so much less common, because writing usually requires the full orthographic representation of <*and*>. In fact, it is perhaps more accurate to represent this construction as *try 'n go* orthographically, but that would have caused other complications in my surveys for example, relating to orthographic standards.

Secondly, there is a strong tendency to avoid interruption in verbal pseudocoordination. Intervening words are not strictly ungrammatical, but the acceptability seems to go down as longer words or phrases are inserted into the structure. There is also an effect of the type of word inserted, which will not be discussed in detail here.

69) ?I will try hard and win the race.
70) ??I will try my very best and win the race.

Even though they have roughly the same semantics, *hard* in (69) is less intrusive than *my very best* in (70), and both seem to make the pseudocoordination reading slightly harder, although it is still available with the right intonation and prosodic phrase structure, which is most effective in fast speech, or certainly when the two verbs occur in the same breath group. These properties may not be especially relevant to the underlying syntactic representation, but they do suggest a sort of unity to the structure.

Although infrequent in usage, there is nothing inherent about pseudocoordination that makes it less a part of the grammar than say standard coordination or infinitival *to* control structures (and cross-linguistic data in Appendix 1 shows that this structure is actually not rare), and I believe it can be accounted for in any syntactic framework as a general (if infrequent) feature of the language.

Despite the many similarities between *try*-type pseudocoordination and infinitival *to* subordination, the two have distinct properties. First, we can tell them apart based on the distribution of negation.

71) I try not to be rude.
72) *I try not and be rude.
73) I try to not be rude.
74) I try and not be rude.
75) ??I go and not get the book.
76) *I go not and get the book.

In the examples above we see that although they are very similar, only one type of negation allowed in infinitival *to* subordination (71, 73) is allowed in pseudocoordination. Negation must follow *and* (74) and cannot precede it (70). This is one of the few properties that can rule out an analysis where *and* is treated as an alternative pronunciation of *to*. Additionally, neither type of negation is available for the *go*-type, although there may be a very marginal reading of (75) under the right circumstances, but certainly less natural than that in (74).

The most obvious difference between infinitival *to* subordination and *try*-type pseudocoordination is the bare form condition (and its effects on the first verb), which will later be shown to come out of a combination of selecting a bare infinitival complement (as in infinitival *to* subordination) and the morphological sameness requirement introduced earlier.

77) I tried to play the piano.
78) *I tried and play the piano.
79) *I tried and played the piano.

The bare form condition restricts against (78) or (79) and thereby any use of *try*-type pseudocoordination in the inflected past tense (but not, for example, with *do*-support), while (77) is unaffected by any such requirement. In general, there are no restrictions whatsoever on the form of the verb whose complement is a *to* infinitive, but there does seem to be a restriction on the form of the first verb in pseudocoordination. This is the central puzzle in the analysis of the *try*-type. The remainder of this section will be concerned with what descriptive generalizations are required to account for the restrictions on distribution of *try*-type pseudocoordination.

Based on what has been presented so far, we can summarize the relevant syntactic properties and morphological restrictions as follows: first, *be* is licensed under *try*-type pseudocoordination as the second verb (but not the first); second, the first verb is restricted by the bare form condition; and third, in *go*-type pseudocoordination there is a morphological

sameness requirement. The first fact suggests that the second verb in the *try*-type is a true infinitive, and this is supported by the semantics and similarity to infinitival *to* subordination. As it is not licensed for *be*, the first verb is not an infinitival complement, or anything else unusual for that matter, so it is subject to normal subject-verb agreement. The second fact is then anomalous, but it can be explained by the third, a general property of pseudocoordination; there is a requirement of morphological sameness for the first verb and the second verb. Thus, the bare form condition is not a direct property of the first verb, nor is it anything anomalous for the second. Instead, it is generated by a combination of bare infinitive complementation and the morphological sameness requirement, meaning that the bare form of the first verb is required by the bare form of the second verb. We can generalize these to three principles in place for *try*-type pseudocoordination:

A) The second verb is a bare infinitive, licensed by *and*.
B) Morphological sameness for the first and second verb.
C) Standard subject-verb agreement, for the first verb only.

Potential *try*-type sentences	**A**	**B**	**C**
80) I try and sleep.	√	√	√
81) *He tries and sleeps.	*	√	√
82) *He tries and sleep.	√	*	√
83) *He try and sleep.	√	√	*

The ungrammaticality of each of the potential candidates for third-person singular present tense is explained by one of the principles above. First, (81) is ruled out by not having a bare infinitive as the second verb, a requirement of the *try*-type explained by the type of complement that *and* selects. Second, (82) is ungrammatical because it violates the morphological sameness requirement, to be discussed in detail below, with *-s* on the first verb but not the second. Third, (83) is ungrammatical because it does not conform to standard subject-verb agreement.

Technically, (C) should be expanded to include not only subject-verb agreement but also the standard requirements for checking tense and aspect as well to explain the ungrammaticality of the following sentences:

84) *He try and sleep. [past]
85) *He is try and sleep. [progressive]
86) *He has try and sleep. [perfect]

Whether the ungrammaticality of (84-86) is due to some sort of agreement or instead due to the tense/aspect simply missing from the derivation, these sentences are not somehow excepted as grammatical, just as (83) was not.

Thus, the distinction between *try*-type pseudocoordination and *to* subordination is based on two factors: first, this morphological sameness requirement, and second the different distribution of negation. The relevant question to ask now is what the nature of the morphological sameness requirement is and how we might represent it in syntactic theory. This is first a descriptive question and second a theoretical one. This section will focus on the descriptive aspect and leave the theoretical aspect for later (§5). An initial proposal could be as in (87) below:

87) Morphological Sameness Requirement*: All verbs participating in pseudocoordination must share the same morphology.*

This is a reasonable first assumption, it is not entirely accurate because it is unclear what *morphology* refers to. A convenient option would be syntactic features (which are later realized as morphemes), but this would not generate *try*-type pseudocoordination in the finite present tense. Therefore, a morphosyntactic explanation, dealing with features, seems inadequate. Alternatively, we could consider a morphophonological account, dealing with the actual pronunciations of the verbs. That does not immediately capture the situation either, because the following sentence is ungrammatical:

88) *He tried and put the book on the table.

If there were merely a requirement that the verbs sound similar, then (84) should be grammatical. The ungrammaticality shown here is relevant in two ways. First, we now know that surface-form of the verb is too general, and second this hints at *put* being bare, in the relevant sense, and not having whatever would be required to be the same as past tense *tried*, despite sounding like they are the same.

Revisiting the data, *try*-type pseudocoordination can occur only in contexts where the first verb is underlyingly bare or in the present tense where systematic suppletion generates all forms as bare, except for third-persona singular *-s*. Due to the impoverished inflection in English, we will need to consider irregular verbs and dialectal variation to test this further.

Faarlund & Trudgill (1999) investigate the bare tense condition in Norfolk English, an East Anglian dialect in which colloquially, third-person *-s* is optional:

89) That dog run very fast.

In the Norfolk dialect, there is no ungrammaticality associated with third-person singular bare forms. Therefore, they should function with regards to pseudocoordination as other unmarked verbal forms, and they do:

90) He try and see us every day.
91) *He tries and sees us every day.

A sentence such as (90), they write "is perfectly in order and utterly grammatical for local dialect speakers" (Faarlund & Trudgill 1999: 212). In contrast, (91) with optional third-person inflection is ungrammatical as it is in standard English. This confirms that there is no unusual semantic restriction against third-person singular, and it suggests that it is truly the *-s* morpheme itself that causes the ungrammaticality.

Returning to standard English, there is also the possibility of testing pseudocoordination with irregular verbs. As shown above, this does not allow an inflected first verb, but if the first verb itself were irregular with a past tense or participle identical to the present/bare form. However, that is easier said than done in English with only a few dozen of irregular verbs with identical present tense and past and/or participle forms. More problematically, none of these obviously participate in *try*-type pseudocoordination. There are thus very limited ways to test the hypothesis and the limited morphology of English may render the problem undecidable. There are, however, three possibilities. The first is with *set out*, the only verb with roughly similar semantics to *try* that appears to take a control structure in certain cases. Therefore, it should be possible to test whether an irregular bare past tense first verb is allowed in the *try*-type:

92) He set out to win the race.
93) He will set out and win the race (but might not win it).
94) (?)He set out and win the race.

Although a sentence like (94) may be marginal, it does seem intuitively better than one with a regular, past-tense inflected verb such as the examples with *tried* above. The other two possibilities involve the past participle *come* not in *try*-type pseudocoordination[20] but in two related contexts: *go*-type pseudocoordination, and *go get* serialization:

95) (?)He has come and visit us.
96) (?)John has come live with us.

The first case (95) is a potential exceptional case for the morphological sameness requirement in *go*-type pseudocoordination; although *come and visit* is apparently a reasonable unit, that particular *come* is not the participle. The second (96) is similar except that *go get* serialization has the bare form condition, as with the *try*-type. It is, regardless, uncertain whether either of these necessarily correlates with the *try*-type and not just surface-level processing of *come*.

20 There is almost a reading available of *come* that would work, but it appears to be a raising verb rather than a control verb: *He came to be the richest man in the country.*

Mixed results from the third survey are not reported here because they did not clarify the questions considered above. For similar problematic results, see Pullum (1990) for testing *have come visit* sentences across a population. Further research is required, along with a more controlled survey or experiment format that will restrict the interpretations participants can make when judging the sentences. Additionally, individuals may simply vary in what they will accept.

At this point, it appears that the best working hypothesis is that the *try*-type has a rule similar to feature copying (cf. Lødrup 2002) in the *go*-type but one that applies to morphological inflections rather than syntactic features. Thus, (87) from above can be revised as (97) below.

> 97) MORPHOLOGICAL SAMENESS REQUIREMENT*: Any inflection on the first verb must also be realized on the second verb.*

This descriptive generalization creates essentially a paradox, requiring that any inflection present on the first verb must also be present on the second, which is necessarily already a bare form. Together, those two properties account for the "bare form condition" data. How this works out in syntactic theory is addressed in the next section (§5).

5. Approaching a theoretical analysis for the *try*-type

One especially difficult aspect of creating a successful syntactic analysis of pseudocoordination is that there is often underspecification in the form of ambiguity in tokens, even for speakers who would say something like (98):

> 98) I hope you try and win the race.

This is not a problem for the analysis in that a generative grammar must be able to generate any grammatical utterance but, aside from aesthetic considerations, does not need to necessarily be maximally efficient and non-redundant. In fact, this last point fits in very well with the idea of "Multiple Analyses" proposed by Hankamer (1977), questioning why the most

simple explanation logically is necessarily the best explanation, and suggesting that sometimes there may be several overlapping explanations that each generate the relevant utterance with no clear way to choose between them in some cases, while at other times it is clear that each is independently needed when the overlap is not present. Pullum (1990) discusses mixed results from survey data and suggests that explaining the bare form condition may not be possible for the population as a whole because there is significant individual variation, probably due to speakers generating multiple sufficient but different grammars from limited input. Despite this, a syntactic analysis will be presented in this paper to explain the general tendencies found in standard English for the *try*-type.

Now we turn to the open question of how to represent the necessary descriptive generalizations in a syntactic theory. Two of the three principles for the analysis of the *try*-type are readily available in analyses of other phenomena. First, subject-verb agreement (and along with it, tense marking on verbs) has long been analyzed in numerous frameworks, so that need not be dealt with in detail here, except to note that it only applies to the first verb, as mentioned earlier. Second, the bare infinitive required as the second verb can be the complement selected by and_{PC} in essentially the same way that *to* does. One uncertainty is how the differences in negation (71-76) will be accounted for, as up to now the only syntactic property that differentiates pseudocoordination from subordination has been the morphological sameness requirement.

In one sense, that of the diachronic typology and grammaticalization, it is not necessary to account for negation because the function of these forms allows them to grammaticalize from one to the other based on the more frequent affirmative (non-negation) contexts. Thus the distribution of negation would come about likely as a side effect of being in whatever syntactic configuration developed from the grammaticalization. This is instead of some implausible

situation in which the negation was the cause of grammaticalization or its path. But there is another sense, that of developing a synchronic generative grammar that can account for pseudocoordination and the distribution of negation.

There are three possibilities for why infinitival *to* subordination and *try*-type pseudocoordination differ in how they pattern with negation. The first possibility is that pseudocoordination simply has a different structure than infinitival *to* subordination but generates an identical output. They need not be more than minimally different for this to be the case, and there is no inherent reason why they should be the same. A second possibility is that the *try not to* word order is a sort of idiomatic usage perhaps due to avoiding "split infinitives," but this is probably older than the traditional prescriptivist objections to split infinitives (cf. Nagle 1994).

A third possibility relies on assuming that standard uses of *try* and similar verbs are actually unusual. They may be semi-modals that can invert with negation without an auxiliary for support:

99) I try not to be rude.
100) I dare not be rude.
101) I must not be rude.

Sentences such as (99; originally presented as 71) may be similar to modals (101) and semi-modals (100) and raise over negation. There is a complication in that *do*-support is also possible:

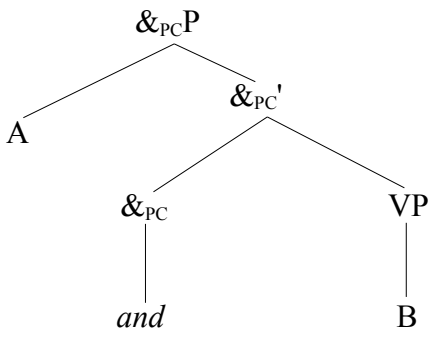
102) I do not try to be rude.

And in fact, (102) seems to have a slightly different meaning compared to (109), although this may be complicated by neg-raising (cf. Horn 1978). An extension of this could be for some kind of multi-clausal analysis, which will not be pursued here, but could certainly differ from pseudocoordination.

An alternative explanation for the differences in negation is that *to* infinitives allow *constituent negation* (cf. Haegeman 1995; Choi 2004), which would be negating the *to*-phrase, and that this cannot apply to the *and*-second-verb string in pseudocoordination. One possibility is that this is for structural reasons, but another is simply that for some reason pseudocoordination is not as flexible as *to* infinitives and cannot be interrupted (or modified) by negation.

For lack of a conclusive answer, partly because it may be underdetermined by the system (see Pullum 1990 as well), a reasonable working hypothesis for English is that the pseudocoordination structure is indeed distinct from that of infinitival *to* subordination. This leads to the parsimonious hypothesis that the two types of pseudocoordination are based on a basic phrase structure as follows, without any specification for an external relationship with the sentence.

(103)



With that as the frame on which pseudocoordinations are built, it is possible for them to be realized as "true" coordination, "true" subordination, or something in-between, as considered earlier for an analysis of the *go*-type as a type of aspect (40). The process of grammaticalization would have this prototype available to relocate anywhere as needed, such as in the AspP discussed earlier, as a TopP as discussed in Arnaiz & Camacho (1999), or alternating with normal infinitival *to* subordination (see Wiklund 2007). Uncertainty across tokens is possible as well, such that given several possible points of attachment the synchronic grammar may not

determinately select one or the other, and certainly in speaker-hearer interactions slight variation in interpretation of pseudocoordination can easily go unnoticed, if the great difficulty researchers face when coming up with clear examples is any indication. This also is consistent with the idea that pseudocoordination may allow for more descriptive grammatical/semantic aspects than an inflection-only grammaticalized system, which could in turn explain why pseudocoordination is so common cross-linguistically, even though objectively it seems somewhat strange and awkward, as well as often redundant if coordination and subordination are already available.

The structure in (103) also provides a convenient way to consistently associate certain properties with coordination such as the morphological sameness requirement. With that consistent frame available, the requirement can be phrased in terms of nodes A and B. A set structure like this also may explain why interrupting pseudocoordination is often marked, and although the structure may be flexible, any interruption is a deviation from the canonical proximal location of the two verbs and pseudo-conjunction. Moreover, it gives the researcher a way to refer to pseudocoordination as a technical concept, based on the presence of a structure as in (103) or some derivative, in a sentence. There is less evidence for this from a synchronic viewpoint, but thinking of pseudocoordination as a sort of diachronic tool for expression is enticing.

Finally, the most intriguing and perhaps most challenging question remains: what exactly is the nature of the morphological sameness requirement? First, the easier answer is for *go*-type pseudocoordination with a morphological sameness requirement that operates at the level of syntactic features. Lødrup (2002: 138) proposes *feature copying*, which pretheoretically seems to capture the relevant properties of pseudocoordination. There is perhaps something missing from this analysis, that it fails to capture anything coordinative about pseudocoordination, yet this may

in itself be the central pseudocoordinative/coordinative property, that the verbs are joined by pseudocoordination and thus must share morphology. As a strong tendency in languages with pseudocoordination, that appears to generalize well.

Lødrup applies feature copying successfully in her analysis of Norwegian to explain the required morphological properties, and she mentions similar constructions in English but dismisses them as different because they must be in the bare form (2002: 138). Her analysis can, however, be applied to English by making two important revisions. First, it must be noted that bare form or not, *try*-type pseudocoordination in English *does* in fact have a shared morphological form and therefore, even if bare, may involve feature copying. Second, she conflates the *try*-type and *go*-type, and in fact the *go*-type does not have any requirement to appear in the bare form, and it behaves the same as Norwegian regarding feature copying or morphological sameness. As has been argued here, this can very easily be extended then to the *try*-type by first establishing a bare second verb then using feature copying to block rather than create additional affixes.

A similar but more formalized account is in Wiklund (2007), which relates the morphological sameness to Agree and agreement/concord phenomena in general. In short, one verb agrees with the relevant properties (such as tense and aspect)[21] of the other. In a similar approach, Anward (1988) refers to this as *verb-verb agreement*, which might be a more immediately obvious way to refer to the claim being made in Wiklund. This seems a bit strange at first, but the remainder of this section will be spent discussing why the idea is not to be

21 One additional detail of English that makes this difficult is that one verb would need to agree with the other verb's subject-verb agreement for third-person *-s*. Conveniently the lack of distinction for person or number in Swedish allows this to be a non-issue for Wiklund's analysis, but it would need to be addressed for English. In principle, although strange, there is nothing inherently problematic about including that in the system, and it will be assumed here that it is possible and not addressed in more detail. Another language for which this would be relevant is Faroese, which Wiklund claims her approach should extend to, which hints it would also for English.

dismissed and may not be too unusual after all. Briefly, however, it is worth discussing the possible differences between Lødrup and Wiklund's theories. In essense, Lødrup seems to claim that something is copied from the first verb to the second verb; conversely, Wiklund claims that the second verb agrees with (or perhaps *to*) the first. Although these appear to be very different ideas, they are effectively logically equivalent in that the first, directly or indirectly, imposes restrictions on the second. Thought about in the right way, both do seem to intuitively account for what is going on in English pseudocoordination (as well as in Swedish, Norwegian and other languages). The only potentially significant difference is that where Lødrup's account is not fully explicit, Wiklund's does rely on some kind of agreement, which if for some reason agreement should or could not apply to verbs, could render the theory inapplicable. Here, the approach (and phrasing) of Wiklund will be adopted and analyzed in some detail.

One possible advantage of Wiklund's approach over Lødrup's is in the directionality. Whereas Lødrup's theory requires some sort of look-ahead operation from the first verb to the second, Wiklund's uses the established long distance dependency of agreement. Whereas Lødrup's approach would be significantly helped by assuming some sort of consistent structure as in (103), Wiklund's is not affected in the least – the agreement property can be assigned from and_{PC} to its complement infinitive, which would in turn search for some, any, higher verb with which to agree. Furthermore, some sort of account for agreement is already necessarily part of our system, it is not clear that feature (or other) copying is otherwise necessary.

Justifying verb-verb agreement is somewhat difficult. A starting place would be *sequence of tense* rules, such as described in Comrie (1986) and Declerck (1990) to account for sentences such as the following:

104) Arthur said that he <u>was</u> sick. (Comrie 1986: 265)

At least under one possible reading of (104), *was* refers to the same time as *said*, and as *was* is embedded under *said*, that should result in *was* being located earlier in time than *said*. Comrie shows that this does not necesssarily occur in all languages, such as using the equivalent of *is* in the Russian translation of (104). It is somewhat of a logical leap to reach from sequence of tense to verb-verb agreement in pseudocoordination. It is, however, compatible with the idea.

Sequence of tense has been traditionally used for pedagogical purposes in language instruction, especially with Latin (for example, Jones & Sidwell 1986: 134; or Mahony 2001: 482-485). It has also been described as a type of agreement, in which a subordinate verb agrees with a superordinate verb (*Merriam-Webster's Dictionary of English Usage* 1994: 838). Yet this still does not directly connect with pseudocoordination, especially under Wiklund's analysis of infinitives that take tense agreement (but are in fact still tenseless infinitives).

A more relevant example from Huesler (1921: 110, 138-139) is from Old West Norse (or Old Icelandic), which developed a set of *preterite infinitives*, that is special past tense-marked infintive forms to be used along with past tense verbs, based on analogy. The infinitive was coincidentally homophonous with the third-person plural present tense verbs (as in English with the infinitive and all but third-person singular in the present tense). This lead to an association of third-person plural and the infinitive in a certain construction. The result was, through analogy, a past tense infinitive modeled on the form of the third-personal plural past tense, which was then generalized, within that construction, to about 30 verbs when they occurred within a past tense sentence, and in fact two of those verbs remain in use today in Icelandic (Sigurðsson 2008: 38). The result was a system that can only be thought of as tense agreement, and thus in many ways is similar to the properties of pseudocoordination.

Turning now toward the second type of morphological sameness requirement, the one involving inflections and the *try*-type, the Icelandic example gives some insight into how the transition from a featural agreement rule to an inflectional agreement rule might be possible through the confusion of two suppletive forms. The situation in English appears in many ways to be almost unique due to the bare form appearing in various finite present tense forms, thus allowing such a shift. However, a very similar pattern of grammaticalization is present in one type of pseudocoordination in Faroese, that which involves *try*. Heycock & Petersen (2012: 274) note that while the *try*-type is typically limited to occur only in non-finite forms, but not, interestingly, a restriction to only bare morphological forms, as singular commands, plural commands and infinitives all have distinct morphology, but all are allowed as non-finite verbs. In finite cases, some speakers can marginally use only third-person plural present, because it happens to look like the infinitive. This is very similar to the situation with the *try*-type in English. Generally *try* pseudocoordination in Faroese is a little less grammaticalized than in English, because it is required to be non-finite and must have morphosyntactic (featural) sameness for both verbs, but for those speakers that allow third-person plural in the present tense, the grammaticalization to the *try*-type is in progress, shifting the requirement in Faroese from one of syntactic features to morphological inflections, as has occurred in English.

In fact, even in English this may be a relatively recent development, because Fowler (2009: 666) notes the same kind of marked usage of *try and* in the present tense, writing in 1926, suggesting that about one hundred years ago, English was in the same state of change as Faroese is today.[22]

22 Heycock & Petersen even consider the possibility that the reanalysis of the infinitive-looking third-person plural forms in Faroese may be due to contact with English because the situations are so similar.

Having established the relevant principles in place to explain the descriptive generalizations of the *try*-type and the typology to explain its path to grammaticalization, my analysis involving several distinct properties, which have been shown to operate independently, is supported. One may still ask, however, why such an analysis should be preferred over an apparently more simple "bare form condition" account for Modern English synchronically. To review two facts already introduced: first, in South African English and spontaneous speech errors in other dialects, non-bare first verbs are appearing in pseudocoordinations with bare infinitives, suggesting that the morphological sameness principle may be independent of the bare form requirement for the second verb; and second, the licensing of *be* in the present tense is indicative of bare-form/infinitive complementation under and_{PC}.

The final supporting evidence comes from the survey data collected for this research. Despite the fact that *try*-type tokens with non-bare first verbs (and infinitive second verbs) are ungrammatical for speakers of British, American and Australian standard English, when interpreted these forms result in a non-finite, infinitival meaning. This contrasts with the cases in which both the first and second verb are inflected in the same way, which results in only a standard coordination reading that does not resemble the one available for pseudocoordination:

105) *John tried and eat the sandwich. *[→ he attempted to eat it, but did not]*
106) #John tried and ate the sandwich. *[→ he made effort, and he did eat it]*

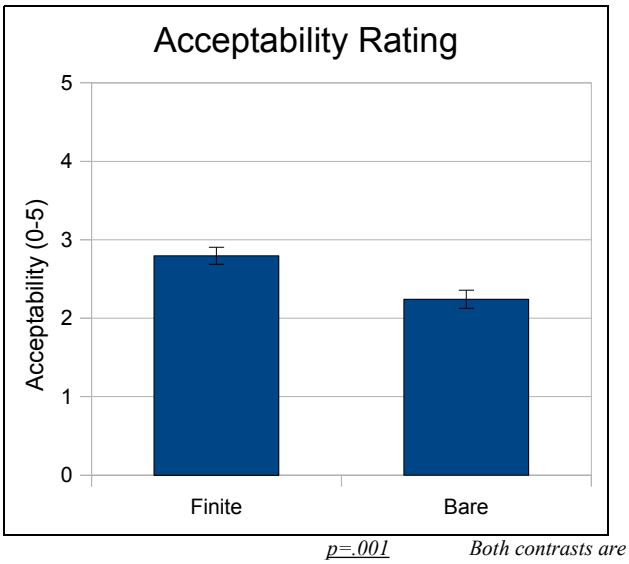
As the entailments listed to the right indicate, while the bare infinitive form of the second verb in (105) does not entail the successful completion of the action it describes, the finite form in (106) does.[23] Thus if *try*-type pseudocoordination were to become grammatical in standard English

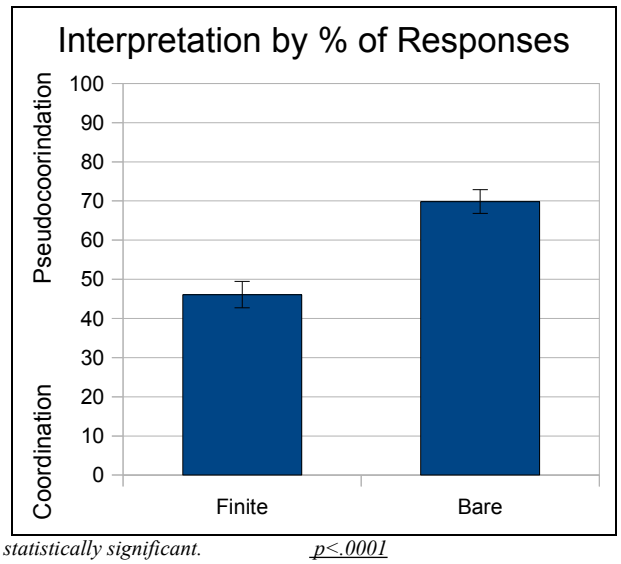
23 Do defend these judgments despite the ungrammaticality of the sentences, we can refer to Shanon (1973) who showed that semantic interpretation of ungrammatical sentences was based on minimal repairs required to produce an interpretable form; as a starting point, this suggests that the closest meaning to the ungrammatical form is the non-finite one, and probably not by accident. Secondly, recent research in Psycholinguistics has suggested that semantics drives processing at the expense of syntax (cf. Kuperberg 2007).

with the minimal amount of changes, this predicts that the form would be (105), not (106), and in fact the (105) form is attested in South African English, while (106) is not attested in any dialect, to my knowledge, because the non-finite semantics are generated by the complementation of a true infinitive to *and*$_{PC}$, rather than the combination of the verbs, the morphological sameness or some lexical property of *try*. The judgments were also consistent for this contrast for both past *-ed* (and irregular) morphology/semantics, and third-person singular *-s* morphology (107-108):

107) Meg tries and bring her cat to the gym every day. *[→ exceptions possible]*
108) Hank tries and brings his dog to class every day. *[→ exceptions impossible]*

The sentences in (107-108) show the same general pattern as in the past tense above, and the interpretations are comparable. In total there were 51 respondants (young native speakers of American English, although the results are consistent across demographics), and for the *bare* and *finite* second-verb types is an average of 8 test items each, 4 each in the past tense and third-person *-s* condition. The sentences were all designed in near-minimal pairs as in (105-108) above. The result is the two graphs below, showing a tradeoff relationship between syntax and semantics.





p=.001 *Both contrasts are statistically significant.* *p<.0001*

Finite sentences, such as (106) and (108) above, were judged to be more acceptable, under the salient but odd standard coordination reading (*try, and also do*) than ill-formed pseudocoordination sentences involving an inflected first verb, such as (107) and (109) above. Therefore, though odd, we can consider the standard coordination both-verbs inflected items to be grammatical and the first-verb inflected pseudocoordination items to be ungrammatical. The labels associated with each on average were "somewhat ok" for the both-verbs finite items and "strange" for the ill-formed pseudocoordination items. The more interesting results come from the semantic interpretation, however. Despite being ungrammatical/less acceptable, the ill-formed pseudocoordination items were most often associated with pseudocoordination readings, that is allowing a reading in which the action described by the second (bare infinitive) verb is incomplete. Contrastively, the both-verbs finite examples were much less likely to be interpreted as incomplete, although the average was just below chance for these strange sentences.

Therefore, we can maintain the two-part "bare form condition" analysis involving a bare infinitive as complement to and_{PC}, and the morphological sameness requirement established in (97) above, repeated here:

> 109) Morphological Sameness Requirement*: Any inflection on the first verb must also be realized on the second verb.*

The trouble with this is that we have established sequence of tense rules and verb-verb agreement that allow for morphosyntactic features to be coordinated between two verbs, but we do not have a way to target morphophonological inflections. It is thus only logical that the resulting principle must hold at PF rather than LF or in relation to syntactic features, but such rules are not common in syntax or syntactic analyses. In some sense, it is reminiscent of the euphonic principle of *horror aequi* discussed earlier (61-62), in which *by frequency in usage* there was a tendency to avoid sequences involving *and-and* or *to-to*, but that is different in two

ways: first, the studies cited were looking across large corpora for large-scale frequency effects across many speakers and writers. Second, horror aequi was shown to not affect acceptability, or at least not affect it to any significant degree.

In contrast, the inflectional morphological sameness requirement is not a tendency nor preference but a rule that applies to each utterance a speaker makes containing *try*-type pseudcocoordination, with a consistent result: a ban on inflected first verbs. Apparently similar to this is the *doubl-ing constraint* proposed by Ross (1972) to explain the unexpected ungrammaticality of sentences such as (111) below:

110) It continued raining.
111) *It is continuing raining. (Ross 1972: 61)

In short, the *doubl-ing constraint* restricts against (most) instances of two *-ing* inflections in a row that should otherwise be grammatical. Unlike most morphosyntactic constraints, the application of the *doubl-ing constraint* is primarily at the surface-level and targets inflections rather than features or meanings. In this way, it is very much like our current morphological sameness requirement, which can be rephrased as follows:

> 112) Morphological Sameness Requirement*: For any first verb that participates in* try*-type pseudocoordination, if it realizes an inflection in the surface/phonological level then a corresponding inflection must also be realized on the second verb at that level.*

However, one generalization is missing, which is a connection to the featural morphological sameness requirement, which is realized through sequence of tense rules. The final form of the morphological sameness requirement will thus draw from both sequence of tense and inflection/surface-level restrictions as in the *doubl-ing constraint*:

> 113) MORPHOLOGICAL SAMENESS REQUIREMENT (FINAL)*: At the surface/phonological level, every verbal complement of* and$_{PC}$ *must realize a corresponding inflection to any inflection realized by its immediately superordinate verb (in the same manner as sequence of tense at the level of syntactic features).*

This new reformulation of the inflectional morphological sameness requirement is consistent with the data and fits with many major theories of syntax. The reliance upon a constraint acting at the level of inflections is uncertain because of the lack of established norms for such constraints due to the infrequent nature of surface/phonological level morphosyntactic constraints, and certainly many questions are still open, but the immediate problem of *try*-type pseudocoordination is at least tentatively solved. The only detail that is still left to explore is what is meant by "corresponding inflection," such as whether irregular past tense morphology would be treated as equivalent to the regular past tense *-ed*. Nearly all of our examples of this constraint being active involve circumstances of effectively the bare form condition, making it nearly impossible to test. However, we did see above in (88) that the null-inflected past tense *put* does not confirm to inflectional sequence of tense for the verb *tried*, suggesting that this may in fact be a requirement based on the actual phonological realization of the tense, whether regular or irregular.

Another possible analysis would hold all syntactically equivalent surface-inflected (non-bare) verbs as equivalent and possessing the "corresponding inflection" whether regular or irregular. In this analysis then, the idea of a null morpheme is questioned. Although a null morpheme may still exist in the sense of phonological features, it is not merely an empty sound category on the surface but actually nothing at all because it does not block pseudocoordination, such as with non third-person *-s* forms combining with *try* in the present tense that function equivalently to "true" bare forms like infinitives. Moreover, based on the analysis of Faroese, it

is possible to see the bare form effect as a mere illusion when the relevant factor is finiteness: non-finite verbs are required as complements of *and*$_{PC}$. In English, this works out as equivalent to the true bare form explanation, but English is compatible with the more specific analysis for Faroese, and it is tempting to consider that for reasons of syntactic features rather than form, even though we must maintain at least one form-based rule in the system.

6. Conclusion

Having otherwise explained the other properties of pseudocoordination under more general properties of syntax, such as agreement and complement selection, the remaining property that is responsible for the intriguing data of verbal pseudocoordination in English is the inflectional morphological sameness requirement, operating at a surface/phonological level unlike most other morphosyntactic explanations in syntactic theory. In some ways this opens up new questions, but it also provides an analysis that is, on the whole, consistent with cross-linguistic pseudocoordination, and also efficient in explaining diachronic and synchronic properties of pseudocoordination in a single analysis.

Previous analyses of pseudocoordination have considered a number of possibilities and have often conflicted in trying to determine whether pseudocoordination is coordination or subordination. Arguments for an analysis as coordination (and against subordination) include de Vos (2004; 2005) and Lakoff (1986). Against coordination (and for subordination) are Wiklund (1996; 2007),Cardinaletti & Giusti (2000) and Johannessen (1998). Others have, rather than selecting subordination or coordination, looked at only one and analyzed how pseudocoordination is not an exact match for it, such as Carden & Pesetsky (1977), but without extending the ideas to explain what it is if it is not coordination. Still other proposals such as

Stefanowitsch (1999) or Wiklund (2009) avoid the complications by claiming that these expressions are idiomatic; that is insufficient because verbal pseudocoordination is productive (§4), and even if it is in some sense idiomatic that is not an excuse to leave its grammatical properties unexplained. Most similar to my analysis here in that sense is Endresen (1992), who proposes a hierarchy ranging from pure coordination to pure subordination; however, this is pretended mostly from a semantic point of view and fails to capture some of the particularly interesting aspect of the middle range, that is pseudocoordination, such as the nature of the morphological sameness requirement.

Another way of looking at the results is that the *go*-type is coordination with certain properties of coordination modified, while the *try*-type is infinitival subordination with some extra properties borrowed from coordination. By splitting the problem into several generalizable components (e.g., agreement, complementation), the problem becomes clearer and more consistent, and a hybrid (coordination-subordination) analysis is possible by including some properties in some types of pseudocoordination but not others.

In the end, I hope to have at least succeeded in my original goal, of establishing the relevant descriptive generalizations that must be accounted for in a successful analysis of verbal pseudocoordination in English. In doing so, I believe I have simultaneously simplified and extended the problem, by identifying two specific subtypes (just within English) that must be analyzed separately, and at the same time creating more problems to solve. The overall result is positive, though, in that previous accounts conflated details and often resulted in contradictions about what was or was not a property of pseudocoordination in English. Future directions for research include establishing more historical facts about the development of pseudocoordination in English; cross-linguistic work in many of the world's languages on pseudocoordination that

has so far often gone unnoticed outside Scandinavia with a few exceptions; testing whether the typology proposed does in fact generalize, the relationship between pseudocoordination and subordination, and finally the underlying nature/function of *and* in natural language.

In summary, in this paper I have defined verbal pseudocoordination in English (§1), establishing how it differs from standard coordination (§2). Next I distinguished two subtypes in English, the *go*-type and *try*-type, and considered the properties of the *go*-type (§3), then the properties of the *try*-type including the major descriptive generalizations that must be included in a successful analysis of verbal pseudocoordination in English (§4). I concluded with a proposal for a theoretical account of pseudocoordination and its implications (§5-6). I also proposed a typology of pseudocoordination for diachronic, cross-linguistic and subtype comparison as well as providing an outline of verbal pseudocoordination in other languages (Appendix 1).

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Appendix 1: Cross-linguistic and Diachronic Pseudocoordination

1. Pseudocoordination cross-linguistically

Although verbal pseudocoordination has certain specific and interesting properties in English, the phenomenon is found in a variety of languages and a cross-linguistic context will be useful both for understanding the significance and status of pseudocoordination in English as well as for further research directions. This appendix will provide an overview of cross-linguistic verbal pseudocoordination in an attempt to establish that it is perhaps surprisingly common, found in almost all of the languages in Europe as well as elsewhere. Aside from a few cases, such as French, where languages seem to avoid verbal pseudocoordination, it seems to exist wherever we look for it. In fact, the reason that the phenomenon is most studied for the languages of Europe is likely to account for why more languages will not be listed here; no one has undertaken the task of looking for pseudocoordination broadly outside of Europe. One exception is the Semitic languages, which will be discussed here. Beyond this, there also appears to be some functional alternation (either within or across languages), which could explain why it is not found in some languages or possibly why it is especially common in European languages (generally without serialization). The overview here is not intended to be conclusive; on the contrary, it is meant only to suggest that investigation of verbal pseudocoordination would be productive in any number of languages, each surely with its own idiosyncrasies as in English. Many languages not listed have systems of pseudocoordination are waiting to be discovered; its absence from this list only indicates that no information is available. Of the languages considered here, only French appears to not use, and even avoid, pseudocoordination. The others have

diverse systems with varying use, the extent of which would be a subject for further research. The only goal here is to show that it exists and is waiting to be described in detail.

1.1 Overview of languages

Even in a language so studied as English, verbal pseudocoordination has gone relatively unnoticed compared to many syntactic phenomena. However, there has been a significant amount more work done on English verbal pseudocoordination than on that which is found in most other languages. One significant exception is the extensive research on the Scandinavian Germanic languages. Another focus of research has been on classical and Biblical languages including Latin, Ancient Greek and Hebrew, although the focus has been on *hendiadys* (a two-for-one usage) in general with the most attention paid to nominal hendiadys.

Beyond these areas, the first major work describing a wide variety of languages was Coseriu (1966) who collected scattered accounts of many Germanic, Romance, Balto-Slavic and Finno-Ugric languages as well as Greek and Arabic, with a focus on the phrase *take and*. Worth mention are also Wagner (1955), who compiled information about a variety of languages around the Mediterranean, and Lewy (1937) who described the phenomenon in several Finno-Ugric languages. As described by Taube (in press: 1), the earliest record of a description of verbal hendiadys may have been by Rabbi David Kimhi (c. 1200, Narbonne, Provence), who noted the use of *take and* in Hebrew. Coseriu (1966: 27) also mentioned Correas whose dictionary contains a brief entry on *tomar y* ('take and') in Spanish (1627: 611).

The complete list of languages with evidence of some form of verbal pseudocoordination is included below. The details and sources are explained in the following sections.

Germanic: Swedish, Danish, Norwegian (probably the most extensive and varied use in any languages); Faroese, Icelandic, Old Norse (less grammaticalized, but still present); English, Old English (c. 1000), South African English (further grammaticalizing beyond standard English), and likely Scots as well; Afrikaans, colloquial Dutch, Frisian, Yiddish, German (several idiomatic phrases), Low German dialects (via loan translation from Scandinavian); Gothic; and Sranan, an English-based creole.

Italic: Latin (limited); Spanish, Portuguese, various Italian dialects and Marsalese, Romanian, Sardinian and Judeo-Spanish, as well as possibly Provençal. **Slavic:** Russian, Polish, Ukrainian, Bulgarian, Serbocroatian, and Old Church Slavonic. **Baltic:** Lithuanian. **Other Indo-European languages:** Albanian, Greek (both Modern and Ancient), and Hittite.

Semitic: Arabic, Hebrew (both Biblical and Modern), Akkadian, and Ugaritic. **Finno-Ugric:** Finnish, Hungarian, Voltic, Mordvinic, and Mari.

Verbal pseudocoordination is also attested in Korean, and, likely due to borrowing from Spanish, limited instances are found in Basque. Beyond this, languages for which broadly related phenomena have been discussed include Tsez, Japanese and Digo. The similarity to serialization has also been mentioned by many authors, which would suggest a functional relationship with many more languages such as Burmese and Swahili, as well as within languages such as the phrases *go and get* and *go get* in English.

1.2 Germanic Languages

Verbal pseudocoordination in the Scandinavian languages has been written about extensively, so a thorough bibliography cannot be provided here, but select sources will be given as an overview. For Swedish, see Wiklund (2007, 2009); Anward (1988); and Hilpert & Koops

(2008). For Norwegian, see Lødrup (2002); Jørgensen (2003); Hesse (2010); and Vannebo (2003). There are fewer sources for Danish, but several are available: Bjerre & Bjerre (2007); Kjeldahl (2010); and Ebert (2000). An typical example from Swedish with an aspectual interpretation is shown in (1):

1) Han sitter og skriver dikt. (Lødrup 2002: 121)
he sits and writes poems
'He is writing poetry'

These three languages have a variety of pseudocoordination which likely constitute several subtypes (cf. Wiklund 2007; Lødrup 2002). The most prominent include positional verbs (which often denote aspectual, such as progressive information; cf. Ebert 2000), motion verbs (as in English), and verbs that usually alternate with an infinitive such as *try*. Dialectal variation (for example, in Finland-Swedish) will be discussed in relation to grammaticalization in English below.

Faroese (cf. Heycock & Petersen 2012) has a less extensive system of pseudocoordination, which is in fact very similar to English for the verb *try*. Although the standard language only allows infinitival or imperative forms for *try*, some speakers accept third-persona plural in the present tense because the form is identical to the infinitive (2012: 274). This is intriguingly similar to the bare form condition in English. Crucially, however, the infinitive (along with the singular and plural imperative forms) is inflected in Faroese. This is additional evidence that a literal bare form condition is not the right analysis for English; instead, it must be a nonfinite for, which in English is only coincidentally a bare form. Beyond the *try*-type in Faroese, there are also less restricted motion and position verbs, as found generally in the Scandinavian languages, as well as in English. Pseudocoordination Faroese is also discussed by Wiklund (2007) and Ebert (2000).

Icelandic (cf. Wiklund 2007: 191-192) has limited use of pseudocoordination with a limited set of verbs, primarily *to sit*, a common usage in the other North Germanic languages. Use in Old Norse is likewise uncommon, but both Hilpert & Koops (2008) and Vannebo (2003), using corpora to track the grammaticalization in Swedish and Norwegian respectively found that some form of pseudocoordination goes back over 500 years without any clear date of origin in documented texts, so it may be significantly older than that. They did, however, find significant changes in grammatical properties when comparing the modern languages to the instances from older corpora. This suggests that basic pseudocoordination is an old feature in North Germanic (or even Germanic), but that the level of extensive systematic and frequent use in the current languages is a development of approximately the last 500 years.

Pseudocoordination is found frequently with several verbs in English and rarely with others, but there are two distinct subtypes and intricate grammatical properties associated with the phenomenon, as described in the paper. Examples of the motion verb type can be found as early as c.1000 in translations of the Bible. It is unclear whether the form may have been borrowed through translation, and written records are not available early enough to entirely rule out the possibility of syntactic borrowing (possibly influenced by texts in other languages, even before translation was common), but that possibility seems unlikely. As argued for Norwegian by Vannebo (2003: 184), it would be strange to find a typically colloquial form borrowed through formal writing into colloquial speech.The diachronic in English development will be discussed in detail below. Due to the presence in such old texts, there is no reason to believe that pseudocoordination was not used in Scots as well, and the form is currently used in Scottish English. Additional indirect evidence comes from Irish English, a dialect heavily influenced by

Ulster Scots, in which phrases as in (2) below are common, although they are not found in all other dialects of English:

2) Look what's took and happened now! (Kuznetsova 2006: 1)
'Look what happened now!'

Sebba (1987) describes Sranan, an English-based creole in Suriname, as having both serialization and what he calls "coordinative serialization," which resembles pseudocoordination in English. Apparently there are several distinctive syntactic properties in Sranan, such as how it interacts with the coordinate structure constraint, that show it has grammaticalized away from standard English in this regard. The development is pseudocoordination in creoles is especially interesting because creoles tend to simplify difficult structures from their source languages (McWhorter 2007), which suggests that pseudocoordination may be an accessible and useful grammatical form; furthermore, the interaction with subordination suggests also that pseudocoordination may be a way to create complex predicates for communicative reasons.

Afrikaans (cf. de Vos 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007; Kjeldahl 2010) has a system of pseudocoordination with positional verbs (like *sit*) and certain motion verbs (like *go*), but the set of verbs that may occur as the first verb of pseudocoordination is relatively small, at least compared to the Scandinavian languages, and there is not too much productivity with new verbs. In some ways, this is like English as well. Pseudocoordination is not common in Dutch although it may be present in colloquial dialects (cf. Ebert 2000), and logically if it is in Afrikaans there was likely some at least marginal form of pseudocoordination from which it developed, unless there has been significant influence from other South African languages over the past several hundred years, which is a topic for further research. Ebert (2000) does show certain uses of pseudocoordination in Frisian, though.

German seems to resist most use of pseudocoordination (cf. Hesse 2010; Taube, in press), even frequent cross-lingusitic collocations like *go and*. However, there are several idiomatic expressions such as *sei so gut und* ('be so good and') and *tu mir den Gefallen und* ('do me a favor and') that are used in informal registers of standard German (Wackernagel 1920: 62). Ebert (2000) also has some data on Low German dialects that have borrowed several expressions from Scandinavian. Wagner (1955: 8) mentions *er ging bei und tat* ('he came by and did') and *er kommt bei und tat* ('he came buy and did') from northern Germany. Yiddish (cf. Taube, in press) does use pseudocoordination, especially with *take*, but also with *go*, *come*, and *seize/grab*. The use is not as extensive in other languages and due to the general lack of pseudocoordination in German and apparent lack of such forms in older Yiddish texts, Taube believes that pseudocoordination was probably borrowed from the Slavic languages, which also frequently use *take and*, after centuries of extensive contact. Another possibility could be influence from Hebrew, but Slavic influence is more plausible due to the colloquial nature of the expression.

Finally, examples can also be found in the Gothic translation of the Bible (c.500-700) as in (3). Though it is impossible to rule out borrowing as this is a translation, the Bible is one of the only sources of information we have on Gothic, and at the very least this example shows that the syntax of Gothic was compatible with pseudocoordination and, most likely, that the intended meaning was conveyed by the words.

3) Matthew 8:21 (Wulfila Bible)
frauja, uslaubei mis frumist galeiþan jah gafilhan attan meinana.
Lord, suffer me first go.INF and bury.INF father my
'Lord, suffer me first to go and bury my father.'

In summary, almost all Germanic languages have pseudocoordination in one form or another, and all do in colloquial or dialectal usage. The most extensive system is found in the

North Germanic languages, followed by English and Afrikaans. Pseudocoordination has existed for over 500 years in Scandinavia, over 1000 years in English, and for at least nearly 1,500 years in Germanic based on the limited evidence available from Gothic. It is possible, but uncertain, that this was part of Proto-Germanic at least in a basic form (such as with motion verbs). In other cases, there may be explanations due to other languages via borrowing, as in Yiddish (from Slavic) or influence effecting extended grammaticalization, as in Faroese (with potential influence from English for extending the *try* type to the present tense; cf. Heycock & Petersen 2012: 274). The extensive use in distant languages suggests that it was not borrowed entirely from one subgroup, such as the Scandinavian languages. Therefore, although there was contact, there is no strong argument for borrowing from Old Norse as the source of verbal pseudocoordination in English.

1.4 Romance languages

Outside of Germanic, less research has been carried out, even for the other European languages. For an overview of the distribution in Europe, see Coseriu (1966), the source for much of the information available here, which is focused on the phrase *take and* rather than verbal pseudocoordination in general, which means that data is limited in some cases.

Although there are various uses of pseudocoordination in the Romance languages, Latin offers few examples, unlike Ancient Greek which it often resembles, which had more frequent use of verbal pseudocoordination and hendiadys in general (cf. Sansone 1984). Several examples are mentioned by Wackernagel (1920: 63): *ibo et cognoscam*, *abi et renuntia*, and *festina et fuge* ('I go and find out', 'exit and report', and 'hurry and flee').

In Spanish, there is frequent use of *tomar* ('take') in pseudocoordination as described by Coseriu (1966) and others, and the forms *coger* and *agarrar* also exist, with the same meaning. Coseriu (1966: 30) provides a list of other verbs such as *venir* ('come') and *seguir* ('continue') as well as dialectal forms in the Spanish-speaking world including *llegar* ('arrive') in Chile and *saltar* ('jump') in Puerto Rico and Spain. The perhaps more interesting example is reported by Arnaiz & Camacho (1999), with *ir* ('to go') due to its idiosyncratic properties. It has a reading of surprise, as the phrase *went and* may have in English, but it cannot be negated (*'He didn't go and...'), but it can, unlike known pseudocoordination patterns from other languages, have a second overt, non-identical subject, as long as the first subject is syntactically present in the arguments of the second verb (e.g., as an object) as in (4):

4) Juan va y María lo besa. (Arnaiz & Camacho 1999: 322)
Juan goes and Maria CL.MASC kisses
'Juan gets unexpectedly kissed by Maria'.

Wagner (1955) gives examples of similar *go and* usages from (older) Portuguese (5) as well as *pegar* ('seize') in modern (c.1950) usage (6).

5) Meu pay falecido, / Vay minha mãy, e perdeo o marido. (Wagner 1955: 5)
My father died, / Goes my mother and lost her husband
6) Pegou e disse (Wagner 1955: 3)
(He) seized and said
'He spoke out abruptly' (?)

The use of pseudocoordination with *prendere* ('take') is frequent in colloquial Italian (Coseriu 1966: 26; Wagner 1955: 4) and is found also with other verbs including *andare* ('go'), *venire* ('come'), and *tornare* ('return'); *stare* ('stand/be', also used with the gerund for progressives) can be used in pseudocoordination for progressive aspect (Coseriu 1966: 50). Wagner lists examples of *take and* from various Italian dialects (Sicilian, Calabrian, Pugliese, Molise, Neapolitan, Roman, and Tuscan) with the verb *pigliare* ('seize') for *take and* (1955: 3;

see also Rohlfs 1954: 20-23). Wagner (1955: 4) also gives examples for Sardinian *pigare*. More recently, Cardinaletti & Giusti (2000) introduced data on Marsalese, an Italian dialect in southern Sicily (see also Bjorkman 2009; Kjeldahl 2010). In Marsalese there is a structure that looks a lot like pseudocoordination but uses *to* instead of *and* (see also Coseriu 1966: 27 for similar phenomena). It resembles the agreeing infinitives described by Wiklund (2007), with what would normally be realized with infinitival morphology matching the matrix verb for tense and agreement morphology as in (7). Although this structure is not pseudocoordination in a strict sense (as it lacks the word *and*), there are some morphology restrictions, which generally resemble those found with English *try*, and Wiklund's analysis of Swedish inflecting infinitives would work in Marsalese as well.

7) Vaju a pigghiu u pani. (Cardinaletti & Giusti 2000: 3)
go.1S to fetch.1S the bread
'I go to fetch bread.'

There are examples in Romanian as well, such as the use of *a sta și* (lit. 'has stood and'; idiomatically, progressive aspect) and *take and* (Guțu-Romalo 1961; Coseriu 1966: 20; Wagner 1955: 5) as in (8):

8) s'a apucat și a făcut (Coseriu 1966: 20)
REFL.have taken and have done
'took and did'

Of the Romance languages, French is the only clear case that not only does not have clear examples of pseudocoordination but appears to actively avoid it (Coseriu 1966: 49). For example, in comparing several French translations of the Bible (via Biblos), passages written as *go and* were often avoided in the French translation such as by repeating the subject with each verb or using non-coordination structure. Another indication is that Jørgensen (2003), writing in French about Spanish and Norwegian pseudocoordination mentions no examples in French. On

the other hand, Taube (in press: 1) hints that there may be pseudocoordination in Provençal, which in turn might suggest that although standard French avoids such forms, it is likely that regional dialects would show signs of pseudocoordination as is the case in German. Further investigation into the reasons why French avoids pseudocoordination would be useful, as would a thorough description of dialectal variation, such as whether it is found in Canadian French.

1.5 Other Indo-European Languages

For discussion of Slavic languages, see Coseriu (1966), Fraenkel (1926), and Kuznetsova (2006). It appears to be in a majority of the Slavic languages (with no exceptions discussed in the research mentioned here), and the oldest language listed is Old Church Slavonic (Coseriu 1966:). Probably based on the sampling method, the examples are primarily of *take and*, as with the Romance languages, as in (9) from Russian:

9) A ona vzjala i prišla (Kuznetsova 2006: 2)
but she took and came
'But she suddenly came.'

Pseudocoordination is also found in Lithuanian (10) and Albanian (11). For discussion, see Fraenkel (1926) and Coseriu (1966).

10) ēmē jo protos ir praszvito (Coseriu 1966: 14)
took his mind and flashed
'flashed at once on his mind'

11) mora e ju afrova (Kuznetsova 2006: 2)
took and her approached
'[...I] went ahead and came to her.'

Pseudocoordination can even be found in Hittite. The example in (12) is cited in Hock (2012: 7, #15f) from Güterbock & van den Hout (1991: 18-19, II.42-43), from the text originally in Bozkurt, Çiğ & Güterbock (1944), which dates to c.1500-1400 B.C.E.

12) *na-aš paizzi ta* ^{GIŠ}*ḫuluganni* ^{GIŠ}*UMBIN GÙB-laaz tiyazzi*
now-he goes and cart wheel left.ABL steps
'Now he goes and stands at the left of the wheel of the cart.'

Hock discusses the fact that this structure alternates with asyndetic serialization, and the translation given is compatible with one of purpose (2012: 7; cf. Güterbock & van den Hout 1991: 14-15, II.13), both supporting the interpretation of this structure as pseudocoordination rather than coincidental coordination. There are also likely examples of pseudocoordination with *come* to be found in Hittite, such as *comes and calls* (Güterbock & van den Hout 1991: 38-39, IV.43) and *come now and let us fight with each other* (Hock 2012: 7, #15h). See also Oshiro (1993) for an example of nominal hendiadys in Hittite and Hoffner & Melchert (2008: 390) for discussion of the ways *and* is used in Hittite.

Both Ancient and Modern Greek display properties of pseudocoordination. Coseriu (1966: 53) suggests that the extensive use of verbal hendiadys in Ancient Greek may be due to the influence of Biblical Hebrew as the source for translating the Bible and even that this borrowing spread into all of the other European languages (to Spanish, Russian, Norwegian and the rest), although he acknowledges that it did also exist in Homer's writing, which is presumably not borrowed from Hebrew. The only way to explain it as borrowing would be to assume an origin in Proto-Semitic, with an Akkadian influence on Hittite, some further path of contact to Greek and then the structure spreading through Bible translations. It is plausible that literary traditions had an effect on verbal pseudocoordination; but in light of the extreme paths of borrowing that would be necessary, we can conclude that Indo-European pseudocoordination is at least independent from that in Semitic (discussed below), and potentially the result of independent grammaticalization in several of the Indo-European subfamilies. Examples from the

Iliad in Ancient Greek is shown in (13-14), along with various translations to show the frequent interpretation of purpose by the translators.

13) Iliad 12.368 (TCH)
autàr egṑ keîṣ' eîmi kaì antióō polémoio
but I to.there go.PRES and confront/meet.PRES war.GEN
'I am going over there to meet the attack' (Lattimore 1951)
'But I will go thither, and confront the war.' (Murray 1924)
'I go to stem the battle there...' (Bryant 1898)
'I will go over yonger, and bear my part in the fray' (Butler 1898)
'...while I go thither and oppose the battle' (Buckley 1924)
'But I will go there and confront the war.' (literal, as pseudocoordination)

14) Iliad 23.646 (TCH)
all' íthi kaì sòn hetaîron aéthloisi kteréïze.
now go and thy companion contests.DAT bury.honorably
'Go now, and honour the death of your companion with contests.' (Lattimore 1951)
'But come, for thy comrade too hold thou funeral rites with contests.' (Murray 1924)
'Go thou, and honor thy friend's funeral with games.' (Bryant 1898)
'And now, sir, go on with the funeral contests in honour of your comrade' (Butler 1898)
'But go, and celebrate thy comrade's obsequies with games.' (Buckley 1924)
'Now go and honorably bury your companion with contests.' (literal)

For more on hendiadys in Ancient Greek, see Wackernagel (1920), Sansone (1984) and Smyth (1920). For Modern Greek, Ralli (2009) describes serialization with two verbs, but no sources for modern pseudocoordination were located. For this reason, the brief outline below is based on the descriptions generously provided by Dimitris Katsimpokis, a linguistics student and native speaker of Greek. A variety of first verbs with a variety of semantics are possible, including *sképhtomai* ('think'; 'think then do'), *káthomai* ('sit', progressive), *páō* ('go'), and *xekináō* or *archízō* ('start'; 'start to do'). Examples with the verbs *manage* and *try* are in (15-16):

15) Katáphera kai ékopsa to kápnisma
managed.1S and quit DEF smoking
'I managed and quite smoking.'

16) Tí prospathṓ kai kánō?
what try.1S and do.1S
'What do I try and do?'

As shown in (15-16), there are no limits on the morphological forms of the verbs involved in pseudocoordination in Modern Greek. This is like the *go*-type in English, but unlike the *try*-type, and the present tense inflection in (16) shows that no such morphological limit exists, while (15) shows the past tense (to the degree that *manage* is marginally acceptable in English pseudocoordination, I believe it must be used in the bare form, like *try*). Example (16) shows that pseudocoordination with *try* in Greek can violate the Coordinate Structure Constraint, as in English. At the same time, pseudocoordination with *try* in Greek does not have the same semantic effect as in English: the truth conditions of the second verb are required for the sentence to evaluate as true; in English, but not Greek, one can say *I will try and do that, but I might fail* as shown in detail in the paper. In short, the use of *try* in Modern Greek pseudocoordination appears to pattern like the *go*-type in English, suggesting that it has not grammaticalized to the extent that the English *try*-type has.

No relevant information was found for Sanskrit, although discussion of coordination in Sanskrit by Delbrück (1888: 472-476) mentions several unusual uses of *and* in the language. Likewise, there does not appear to be any research on whether this phenomenon occurs in Celtic. For the study of verbal pseudocoordination in English, the presence of a similar structure in Celtic would be a strong indicator of Celtic as the source for the borrowing, but this hypothesis cannot be evaluated without data on the Celtic languages. For discussion of Celtic influences on English, see Nierfeld (2000), Viereck (2000) and Filppula (2006), which suggest that if Celtic did have pseudocoordination it would be possible that it is the source for the structure in English.

1.6 Non-Indo-European languages

Like the other languages in Europe, the Finno-Ugric languages appear to have borrowed *take and* (or developed it independently). This is described in Coseriu (1966) and Lewy (1937) for Finnish, Hungarian, Votic, Mordvinic and Mari. For Finnish, Kenneth Forsbäck (personal communication) also points out *istun ja kirjoitan* ('I sit and write') and *menen ja haen kirjaa* ('I go and get the book'), which are likely borrowings from neighboring Swedish.

The Semitic languages also have verbal pseudocordination, studied under the term *hendiadys* (for an overview, see Lillas-Schuil 2006: 80). The most widely researched in this regard is Hebrew (cf. Watson 1984; Lillas-Schuil 2006; Lillas 2012, in particular 253-263), but it has also been described for Akkadian (Huehnergard 1997: 125-126), Ugaritic (van der Westhuizen 1978), and Arabic (Badawi, Carter & Gully 2004). A frequent and unique aspect of pseudocoordination in Semitic, shared by these languages, is the use of the verb *return* to mean 'repeat' in pseudocoordination, as shown in the Arabic example in (17). In Arabic, a similar usage is possible with precede (e.g., 'have previously done'). Similar usages are found in the other Semitic languages.

17) ʕāda wa-sˁarraħa (Badawi, Carter & Gulley 2004: 422)
return.3S.PAST and-declare.3S.PAST
'He repeated his declaration.' (literally 'he returned and declared')

. Wagner (1955: 7) mentions motion verb pseudocoordination in Egyptian Arabic and briefly discusses the possibility that it was also found in Ancient Egyptian, but this appears to be unfounded speculation, without any evidence presented in the text. Given that, the oldest examples to be found may be from Akkadian as in (18):

18) atūr-ma wardam ana bēliva atrud (Huehnergard 1997: 125)
returned.1S-and sent I to.lord slave
'I sent the slave to my lord again.'

Basque also allows pseudocoordination, which would be remarkable aside from the likely scenario of borrowing from Spanish due to extended contact. An example from Itxaso Rodríguez (personal communication) is found in (19):

19) (Ni) joango naiz eta liburua hartuko dut.
(I) go.FUT AUX and book get.FUT AUX
'I will go and get the book.'

Korean is therefore the best candidate for a geographically and genetically unrelated language that displays pseudocoordination as described by Kwon (2004). Example (20) shows a structure that resembles those seen in European and Semitic languages:

20) Mina-ka mwues-ul palp-ko sikwungchang-ulo nemecy-ess-ni?
Mina-NOM what-ACC step.on-and ditch-LOC fall-PAST-Q
'What did Mary wear and went to school?' (Kwon 2004: 109)

Although the semantics are not exactly the same, the violation of the Coordinate Structure Constraint suggests this may be a similar structure. If not pseudocoordination, it is likely a related phenomenon, potentially related to Lakoff's (1986) observation of certain logically sequential verbs that allow CSC violations despite still being considered coordination.

Beyond the wide distribution of pseudocoordination itself, several researchers have found similarities with structures in other languages. For example, Polinsky (2002; 2003; Kwon & Polinsky 2008) discusses clause-chaining in Tsez in relation to coordination and pseudocoordination, Yuasa & Sadock (2002) discuss *pseudo-subordination* in Japanese, and Nicolle (2007) draws a connection to serializataion in Digo. In fact, many researchers have suggested a possible relationship between coordination and serialization for English *go and get* and *go get* (Zwicky 1969; Carden & Pesetsky 1977; Pullum 1990; Zwicky 1990; Jaeggli & Hyams 1993; Kjellmer 2000; Shih 2009; *inter alia*) and cross-linguistically (Stahlke 1970; Sebba 1987; Pullum 1990; Van Valin 2005; Hilpert & Koops 2008; Hock 2012; *inter alia*). F. K. L. Chit

Hlaing (personal communication) noted the similarity of pseudocoordiation in English described here to verb serialization/compounding in Burmese. In fact, there seems to be a similar use of *try* available: *san: sa: ba* (eat try IMP, 'eat by trying'), whereas to say the equivalent of *try to eat*, the reverse order gives *sa: san: ba* (try eat IMP, 'try to eat' ≈ 'try by eating'). Furthermore, if this relationship is reliable, then many other languages have similar structures. For example, see Mimura, Nishiyama & Ogawa (2011) for discussion of a *go get* type structure in Japanese, or Zeller (2011) for an overview of serialization in African languages.

2. A typology of English verbal pseudocoordination

This section will introduce a typology of pseudocoordination, as shown in the table on the next page. This table represents several dimensions of verbal pseudocoordination in English. First, it represents the diachronic development out of normal coordination, from completely non-pseudocoordinative cases (#1) through grammaticalization first as *go*-type pseudocoordination (#4) then to the *try*-type (#6) and finally to a generalized usage of *and* as equivalent to *to* in infinitives (#7), which is not present in most varieties of English, but is found marginally in South African English and in at least speech errors throughout the English speaking world.

Unfortunately historical data is either unavailable or obscure to show the full grammaticalization process in diachronic detail, so when direct evidence is not available, the account here is interpreted from synchronic properties, cross-dialectal/linguistic variation and inference, following an approach to grammaticalization as in Bybee (2006). This is useful and important because the term *pseudocoordination* and the concept is specifically related to the *and* in unusual uses – therefore we must consider the diachronic properties to explain why *and* is used in these cases rather than some other arbitrary word.

A typology of English verbal pseudocoordination

	Type	Description	Examples	Properties/Restrictions
Coordination	#1: standard coordination	Normal coordination, without restrictions and with truth-conditional semantic interpretation	-I play soccer and read books. -I sing and John plays the piano.	•No grammatical restrictions •Semantics interpreted as additive •V1 subject-verb agreement ↓ (and V2)
	#2: related event coordination	A specific subtype of #1, with two related verbs and a shared subject, usually describing a single event or two closely connected events	-I sing and dance. -I tried (very hard) and won.	•No grammatical restrictions ↑* •Semantics interpreted as additive ↑ •Semantically, there is some relationship between the verbs ↓
	#3: "Frames" as in Lakoff (1986)	A single event or series of events that is so connected it is cognitively recognized as one concept, which allows CSC violations	-You can just sit there, listen to Sam for hours. -Sam is not the sort of guy you can sit there, listen to, and stay calm.	•No grammatical restrictions ↑ •Semantics interpreted as additive ↑ •Strong semantic connection ↓ •Allows CSC violations ↓
Verbal Pseudocoordination	#4: *go*-type	Most frequently with motion verbs, this type usually contains a V1 of some action that leads to V2, often intentionally; verbs share forms; meanings may be idiomatic	-Come and help me! -He went and quit his job. -My girlfriend up and left me. -I want to run and catch the bus.	•Feature copying on the two verbs •Only binary ↓ •order matters ↓ •V-and-V adjacency preferred ↓ •Phonological reduction of *and* ↓
	#5: featurally bare *try*-type (non-finite only)	Middle stage for grammaticalization from #4 to #6; by analogy Type #4 structures were interpreted as infinitives but only in the syntactically nonfinitie form	-Try and do your best! -I will try and do my best. -I want to try and do my best. -*I try and do it.	•Feature copying on the two verbs •bare/non-finite V2 (features) ↓ •Thus, V1 is syntactically bare •Interpreted as infinitive V2 ↓
	#6: *try*-type	Similar to infinitives for subject control verbs; like #5, but generalized to allow all apparently (surface-level) bare V1s; limited in distribution to bare-form contexts	-I try and do it. -I will remember and do it. -Did he just pretend and do it? -*He tries and do/does it. -*We tried and do/did it.	•Inflection copying on the two verbs •bare/non-finite V2 ↓ •Thus, V1 is morphologically bare •Subject control verbs ↓ •No V2 subject-verb agreement ↓
≈*to*-infinitive	#7: *and* ≈ *to*	Grammaticalization from #6 no longer requiring morphological sameness of V1 to V2, thus generalizing the *try*-type to a be exactly like *to*-infinitives but with *and*	-You keep on trying and find the right fit for you [South African English] -When it comes to Romney they tries and make him the villain. [American English; speech error only?]	•Any V1, no inflection copying •bare/non-finite V2 •Distributionally and semantically equivalent to *to*-infinitives

* Note: arrows in these properties represent properties that apply to all other types either before ↑ or after ↓.

At the same time, the table shows the different types of pseudocoordination that exist synchronically in English today and what properties they share, as well as how they differ. Likewise, it will allow us to compare the cases of verbal pseudocoordination in English to what is found in other languages and determine whether there is anything in cross-linguistic typology to be said about pseudocoordination. The rest of this section describes each of the types in more details and how the grammaticalization process could allow one to transition to the next.

2.1 Coordination types

The three "coordination" types in the table represent increasing degrees of pseudocoordination-likeness. **Type #1** represents standard coordination, broadly defined. Although certainly coordination as a whole has important properties in the study of natural language, it is imporant instead to turn to a specific subtype, **Type #2**, that shows an initial similarity to pseudocoordination.

While there are no requirements in **Type #1** for any particular kind of coordination, **Type #2** requires the coordination to represent related events and to consist generally of verb phrases, not because there is anything ungrammatical about other types of coordination but that this is the only subtype of coordination that could eventually lead to pseudocoordination. Beyond that, there are no distinct grammatical properties for **Type #2**.

Type #3 introduces an important grammatical fact: violations of the CSC. As described in Lakoff (1986), certain types of coordination can violate the Coordinate Structure Constraint as described in Ross (1967). These cases involve strongly semantically connected events, and are described by Lakoff as "frames" or scenarios. However, they otherwise generally appear to be a

specific type of coordination, so here we will not consider them to be pseudocoordination, although pseudocoordination can also violate the CSC.

21) Sam is not the sort of guy you can sit there, listen to, and stay calm.

It is specifically this repeated scenario type of coordination that would lead to pseudocoordination in the theory grammaticalization in Bybee (2006). Thus the next types develop from this and move away from canonical coordination into what will be called here pseudocoordination. Construction Grammar, especially its relevance for Bybee's perspective on grammaticalization, might be a useful approach to take, but this paper will not address that specifically, while leaving the possibility open.

2.2 Pseudocoordination types

Though developing out of **Type #3, Type #4** is no longer coordination for several reasons. Although the *go*-type allows Coordinate Structure Constraint violations, Lakoff (1986) provides a convincing analysis of certain coordinations (**Type #3**) that also violate the CSC:

22) Sam is not the sort of guy you can just sit there, listen to, stay calm, and not want to punch in the nose. (Lakoff 1986: 153)

This thus suggests that violating the CSC may not be a sufficient reason to consider pseudocoordination distinct from coordination. Yet as Lakoff explains, it is important to consider multiple conjuncts, which is what lead him to find the exceptions to the CSC in the first place. If we apply the same logic to *go*-type pseudocoordination, we find that it is not the same phenomenon. As mentioned above, these structures are necessarily binary:

23) *He took the book, went and stole it from the library.

In (23) only the literal movement interpretation of *went* is available, not the alternative reading that is possible under pseudocoordination, of surprise:

24) He went and stole the book!

Furthermore, pseudocoordination cannot be modified with *both* (Johannessen 1998: 51):

25) *I will both go and get the book.

Also unlike coordination, there is a strong preference for immediate adjacency for V1-*and*-V2, although interruption is not completely restricted in some cases. Aso supporting that this is the type of grammaticalization described in Bybee (2006), there is a strong preference for a phonological reduction of *and* in pseudocoordination but not coordination.

26) I go 'n get the book. [Easily interpreted as pseudocoordination.]
27) I go AND get the book. [Unlikely to be intepreted as pseudocoordination.]

Additionally, there are often specific idiomatic interpretations for certain verbs or certain classes of verbs and the semantics no longer line up with standard conjunction. This is clear with the past tense *went* example in (46). Within **Type #4**, however, the grammatical properties remain while the semantic interpretation varies. Culicover & Jackendoff (1997) similar cases as a "semantic subordination despite syntactic coordination," more generally showing that syntax and semantics are not necessarily connected. They look at a wider range of examples, but the principle certainly applies here.

Central to pseudocoordination in general, there is the morphological sameness requirement described in the paper. Specifically, for **Type #4** (and **Type #5**), this is a requirement about the syntactic features, not yet applying to inflections, as will be relevant for **Type #6**. In short, with two verbs that do not match in tense, there is no pseudocoordination reading available:

28) *I went and have a book.

Type #4 pseudocoordinations represent what can be considered cross-linguistically canonical pseudocoordination and what is the first step away from coordination into something

merely coordination-like. Many of the cross-linguistic examples presented earlier fall into this category. Of course further grammaticalization may develop in many different directions, but in the table only the path relevant to cases in English is represented. An example of a different path for grammaticalization, beyond **Type #4** (but unrelated to **Types #5-#7**) is the restriction on negation on a Spanish pseudocoordination with *ir* ('to go'), as presented in Arnaiz & Camacho (1999) as evidence that the verb *va* is actually a "topic auxiliary," as described above.

Type #4 pseudocoordination has existed in English for at least 1000 years. Examples from Old English are available since at least the earliest Bible translations (c. 990):

29) Matthew 2:8 (Bright 1910)
Farað and āxiað geornlīce be þām cilde
Go and inquire diligently after the child

The use of *faran* ('go/travel') in this translation is interesting because it highlights the effect of semantic subordination with the inquiry as the purpose for the travel, which hints that the semantics in Old English were at times similar to what is found in Modern English today. At the same time, there is no evidence of grammaticalization beyond **Type #4** in Old English.

The transition from **Type #4** to **Type #5** is due to a typologically rare property of English: syncretism in a system of verbal inflection. Unlike a language without inflection, English can develop pseudocoordination (and other forms) restricted to certain morphological forms. Yet also unlike a language with richer inflection, English has certain forms that are homophonous with the non-finite bare form (as in infinitives, subjunctives, and imperatives), that is all of the present forms except third-person singular. A qualitatively similar development appears to be going on now in Faroese, as discussed above and in Heycock & Petersen (2012).

Thus the development of **Type #5** occurred by reanalysis of **Type #4** non-finite forms:

30) Try and do your best! / I will try and do my best.

Type #5 bridges the transition from **Type #4** to **Type #6** smoothly, and there is the interesting fact that non-finite uses of the *try*-type are still the most common in English (cf. Lind 1983 and Hommerberg & Tottie 2007), which suggests that finite use in the present tense (as in **Type #6**) is likely a more recent innovation. Changes in usage over the past two hundred years show this diachronic development (from Google Ngrams):

The graph above shows that the infinitival **Type #5** usage came into use earlier than the finite present tense usage in **Type #6**. Additionally, even once the usage is attested, the nonfinite forms were still dominant until the last forty years. It is possible that the collection of books represented in the corpus does not correlate directly with speech at the time of writing, due to the inherently formal nature of writing, especially in the 19th century. However, the relative time-course of events should be accurate, even if they occurred earlier than is reflected by the written corpus. This analysis is not meant to replace a more detailed investigation considering more data, but the results do seem to support a transition from **Type #5** to **Type #6**.

An example from Gower (c.1390)[24] may clarify what this transition originally looked like:

24 *Confessio Amantis: Book 4*, in the poem that may be translated Alchemy available at the following URL: http://www.richardbrodie.com/Book4.html (retrieved December 18, 2012).

31) And after forto trie and fyne.
And then to test and refine/filter [it]

This example shows what *try* may have looked like as a **Type #4** (modern *go*-type) pseudocoordination structure before grammaticalizing to **Type #6** via the nonfinite contexts present in **Type #5**, as also exemplified by the particular example in (31). The OED dates *try* to c.1200 as a borrowing from French with a meaning of *experiment* or *test*. The structure *try to* is not attested until after 1600. Before this, a few examples of *try and* are found, suggesting that is the earlier form. This means that there were approximately 400 years during which *try and* developed before *try to* was a competing form. Looking back farther to Old English, I have found no clear evidence for **Type #6** (*try*-type) pseudocoordination in Old English before the borrowing of the word *try* itself, but based on the semantics and the structure of French the pseudocoordination use clearly developed within English, either based on older forms with other verbs on with *try* itself, from 1200-1600. **Type #4** (*go*-type) pseudocoordinations are attested as early as the 1300s, and likely existed before that but may not be preserved in writing.

In **Type #5**, there is still the morphological sameness requirement as in **Type #4** at the morphosyntactic (featural) level, but there is the added requirement (that is, a requirement for such reanalysis to take place) that the second verb must be in a non-finite form. That is coincidentally the case for non-finite contexts, and it seems reasonable to assume that English infinitives, subjunctives and other bare forms are the same morphological form.[25]

25 This is indirectly supported by Huddleston (1984: 85) and Davis (1986) regarding imperatives. Davis notes that negative imperative use of *be* requires *do*-support (1986: 103), which may suggest there is some sort of hidden modal or other functional element that selects a truly bare form in the imperative rather than a form that only happens to be homophonous with the infinitive. However, a similar situation applies in Faroese, but there are three morphological forms allowed: the imperative singular, the imperative plural and the infinitive (Heycock & Petersen 2012: 274). What these share is that they are non-finite, not that they share morphology. Thus the details of the relationship between the infinitive and imperative in English may not be central to the analysis.

Type #6 is generated by reanalysis of the feature-based morphological sameness requirement in **Type #5** to an inflection-based morphological sameness requirement, as in (94), due to analogy with the present tense verbs that appear bare in the surface form. **Type #6** is the strangest in terms of distribution, but is explained by a combination of three requirements, repeated here from the paper:

A) The second verb is a bare infinitive, licensed by *and*.
B) Morphological sameness (for inflections) for the first and second verb.
C) Standard subject-verb agreement, for the first verb only.

2.3 Further Grammaticalization

Although that is currently the end of the diachronic story for pseudocoordination in standard English, there are two attested routes of further grammaticalization in progress. The first is to **Type #7**, which generalizes the *try*-type to a form that is equivalent to *to*-infinitives. There is no longer any morphological sameness requirement, and the *and* form can alternate freely in any context with the *to* form.

Currently for most English speakers[26], this more generalized *try*-type is ungrammatical. However, it does appear to be marginally acceptable in South African English[27] and is attested in a number of examples on the internet:

32) You keep on trying and find the right fit for you.

Likewise there are rare instances found in corpora of other English varieties, perhaps as speech errors. But even if this is only a speech error, it shows that this could be a future direction for pseudocoordination and that it is predicted by the grammatical properties (rather than, for example, just generalizing the semantics to two inflected verbs):

33) When it comes to Romney they tries and make him the villain.

26 Survey data shows that this is the case for at least American English, British English and Australian English.
27 This is based on Google search results for *.za websites, due to the lack of availability of a large scale South African English corpus. Future research will include surveys for speakers of South African English.

Type #7 is also attested in Finland-Swedish dialects[28] (and colloquial standard Swedish) for a variety of verbs including *try.* These descriptions were provided by Kenneth Forsbäck (personal communication).

34) Jag försökte och hitta boken.
I try.PAST and find.INF book.DEF
'I tried to find the book.', literally 'I tried and find the book.'

The presence of **Type #7** in Swedish may be due to the homophony between *and* and *to* (also present in spoken Norwegian), although the two words are still distinguished orthographically. In fact, in Finland-Swedish, *that* is also homophonous with the other two as well.

A second possibility, shown in rare examples (again, potentially speech errors), is reverting back to **Type #4** with the same semantics as **Type #6** for *try* (also found, rarely, in South African English):

35) Electricity tries and finds the shortest point from where it is to "earth."

This type is also found in certain dialects of Swedish:

36) Han försökte o skrev ett brev. (Wiklund 2007: 1)
He try.PAST & write.PAST a letter
'He tried to write a letter.'

Cases like (36) are analyzed by Wiklund as a sort of agreeing infinitive form that is otherwise like normal infinitives. Although it is unclear whether the underlying structure of these forms is like **Type #4** (*go*-type) pseudocoordination in English, a surface-level resemblance is clear.

This appendix has provided a detailed typology outlining both the synchronic types of verbal pseudocoordination and the diachronic development of those types in English. It has also provided a perspective from which to compare English to other languages and shown that pseudocoordination is not, in fact, particularly rare cross-linguistically.

28 For at least some speakers of these dialects, the sort of inflecting infinitives described in Wiklund (2007) are ungrammatical. This is not surprising as the dialects are different, but it is worth noting for clarity.